

310-2
003
COK-490454-43-GS01387

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CX.

January 1900.

...with 'lasted' learning but will confess the many ways of
and those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to imagine
and with new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust
and of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to point
and lighten the atonement of truth, even for that respect they were not
with to be cast away.—MILTON.

43

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

Messrs. THACKER, SPINK & CO: GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.

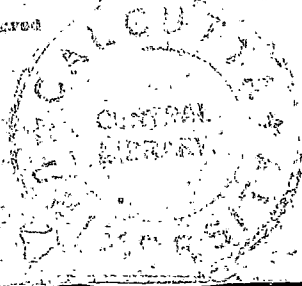
AND TO BE HAD OF ALL RESPECTABLE BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.

MAURAND MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.

LONDON: MESSRS. HEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.

2, PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCERY CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W. C.

2. Edition. Reprinted



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCIX.

CONTENTS.

| | Page. |
|---|-------|
| ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY | 1 |
| " II.—LANGUAGE | 23 |
| " III.—NORWEGIAN LITERATURE | 41 |
| " IV.—A VISIT TO UMARKOT, &c. | 61 |
| " V.—THE COLLAPSE OF SPAIN | 70 |
| " VI.—HISTORY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY | 74 |
| " VII.—A SATI HOLOCAUST | 80 |
| " VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF WESTERN NEPAUL | 85 |
| " IX.—ANDRE CHENIER | 95 |
| " X.—THE LAND LAWS OF BENGAL | 105 |
| " XI.—WHY THE NATIVE PRESS SHOULD BE LICENSED | 120 |
| " XII.—THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE ARYAN HINDOOS | 151 |
| " XIII.—NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS | 160 |
| " XIV.—THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOME OF THE FAMOUS TEMPLES IN MALABAR | 169 |
| THE QUARTER | 170 |
| CORRESPONDENCE—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM | 191 |

CRITICAL NOTICES:—

A.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

- 1.—The Isa, Kena and Mundaka Upanishads, and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by S. Sitarām Sastri, B. A. Published by V. C. Seshachari, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers and Publishers, Esplanade, Madras, 1898 ...
- The Katha and Prasna Upanishads and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by S. Sitarām Sastri, B. A. Published by V. C. Seshachari, B.A., B.L., M. R. A. S., Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, Madras, 1898 ... *ib.*
- The Chhandogya Upanishad and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by Gangānath Jha, M.A., F. T. S. Published by V. C. Seshachari, B.A., B.L., M. R. A. S., Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, Madras, 1898 ... *ib.*
- 2.—Rulers of India. Babar. By Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A., Professor of Arabic at Trinity College, Dublin, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1899 ... *ib.*
- 3.—Valda Henem. By D. H. Fryce. Macmillan & Co., London ... *vi*
- 4.—Young April. By Egerton Castle. Macmillan & Co., London ... *vii*
- acknowledgments ... *ix*

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 219—JANUARY 1900.

ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during the latter half of the 18th Century.

(Continued from No. 218—October 1899.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE dissatisfaction of Bourquin had less excuse than that of Major Smith and his British-born brothers. Yet, if Perron had been in a position to carry out a project for keeping the heart of the Moghul Empire as a preserve for his own countrymen, it would be scarcely a matter for surprise that he should not have neglected the very simple expedient of entrusting at least the higher commands to officers of French nationality. It must have been known to him that the Peace of Amiens was not very likely to last: Lord Wellesley's conduct in 1802 had not been such as to convey to any intelligent observer in India any strong belief in the duration of the arrangement. The First Consul vainly attempted to avail himself of the truce—which he, too, knew to be no more—by re-occupying and strengthening the French settlements in India; and Admiral Lincolns appeared off the coast with a squadron of ships carrying important reinforcements. But the vigilant Wellesley, anticipating the coming rupture, refused to allow the Admiral to land at Pondichéry—a high-handed proceeding, perhaps, yet not altogether without justification. For among the archives of that place had turned up a copy of a paper lately prepared for the information of the First Consul by a Lieutenant Le Fèvre, in which the most unblushing calumnies were heaped upon the alleged treatment of the Emperor by the British, coupled with plans for the extirpation of "that unprincipled race." Considering that the Emperor had been for some time in durance, with a French force in Delhi and a French officer in the palace, the statements in this document were not wanting in ingenious audacity; and it is conceivable that they may have been supplied by Perron.

VOL. CX.]

In the meantime that officer was doing a great deal to undermine his own position. Having disgusted one section of his European followers without making any very valuable body of support among the other, he was also alienating the Mahratta chiefs; of whom more than one had been superseded by Perron in promotion, and naturally had long been regarding the prosperity of the foreigner with jealous eyes. He had, moreover, attracted the odium of Sindhia's father-in-law and chief favourite, the notorious Shirji Rao, Ghatkari; and Sindhia himself was learning to give ear to hostile representations. Then followed an event which did not tend to allay the Chief's ill-humour and general perplexity: the Peshwa having concluded a treaty—called “of Bassain,”—by which Lord Wellesley secured for his Government what he termed “an absolute ascendancy in the councils of Poona;” and, in Sindhia's expressed opinion, “taken the turban off his head.” As yet Sindhia had not dared to throw himself heartily into those anti-British efforts to which Perron had been long urging him; and now Perron had fallen into such disgrace that, on the 25th March 1803, he was insulted by Sindhia in open durbar at Ujain. About this time the effect of all this upon the General's mind had been to lead him into correspondence with Lake, the British officer preparing at Cawnpore for an advance upon Aligurh; and on the 27th of the same month Lord Wellesley wrote that “Mr. Perron's departure would be an event promising much advantage to our power in India.”

But if Perron, smarting under anxiety and disgrace, for a moment entertained thoughts of abandoning his agitated master, the mood only lasted as long as the master's own indecision. About the 1st July, it became evident to him that Sindhia was not likely to continue on friendly terms with the Calcutta Government. Only one month before Perron returned from Ujain, was living as a private person, at Aligurh, preparing to make over the command of the army with the civil administration into the charge of Ambaji Anglia, who had been ordered up from Central India to take his place; before July was over he had been restored to power and was sending round a circular to native chiefs and princes, in Sindhia's name, inviting them to form a general league and active combination against the British. At the same time Lake, at Cawnpore, was warned to be ready. “The reduction of Sindhia's power on the north-west frontier of Hindustan”—Cawnpore was then the frontier-station—“is an important object in proportion to the probability of a war with France.”

If it should now be thought far-fetched to look for French leanings among the native princes, the thought is easily cor-

acted by remembering the case of Tippoo at Seringapatam in the earlier days of the still existing administration. After the capture of that city in 1799, an examination of the late Sultan's State-papers revealed a complete series of documents, which show that Tippoo had been inviting help from General Milartie, Governor of Mauritius; that volunteers had been invited, and that officers and men commissioned, or at least sanctioned, by the Directory had, in considerable number, landed at Mangalore and gone on to Seringapatam. There, like Perron in the North, they had not been received without jealousy by the native officials. "Your Highness is not ignorant," so it was written in a memorial by Mr. Yusuf, of the Revenue Board of Mysore, "that it is the custom of the French to promise much, but to perform little." But Tippoo comments:

"If the theatre of war were in France, would not the God-given State" (*L'Etat, c'est Moi*) "do all in his power to assist? And surely the Frenchmen cannot do less." The Frenchmen in Mysore did much less: yet here was another Indian chief trusting them again; and the French nation at home was now far more powerful and under far more audacious and formidable guidance than in the days of the moribund Directory. In point of fact, the danger was real and imminent, though much mitigated by two unforeseen occurrences: the first was the death of Paul, the Russian Czar, on whom the First Consul had depended as ally and cat's paw; the second being the necessity under which Bonaparte appeared to find himself for taking active steps against the negroes in St. Domingo. This expedition for the moment appeared likely to absorb the whole spare resources of the First Consul; but Wellesley did not know of it, and may well have believed that an enemy like Bonaparte would not neglect any opportunity of injuring Britain that might be afforded by the alliance of a French party in India.

It was, undoubtedly, under such persuasions that Wellesley would have been glad to procure "the retirement of Mr. Perron." And the overtures made for that purpose must have inflated the vanity to which the General had shown himself subject and created exaggerated notions of his own importance. Sindia, too, now that he had at last resolved upon resistance, must have felt that he could not afford to quarrel with his new successful military subordinate, the conqueror of Ismail and Holkar, of the Nizam and the famous General Raymond. So the General resumed his command; though not without danger from Ambaji.

Nor were the possible consequences without a certain element of hopefulness. The British forces advancing into Hindustan and the Deccan were but small numerically; and the majority of

their men were no better in blood and quality than the good regular troops trained by Sindhia's officers and victors in so many hard fights. The combination submitted to Sindhia was—on paper—extremely imposing. The plan formed was this :—

The Rohillas, once conquered by the British for the Nawab of Oudh, were now to enter the domains of that potentate, while Ambaji co-operated in the Lower Duab : Daulat Rao in person was to fall on the Nizam, that ancient enemy of all Mahrattas. Holkar undertook to ravage Benares and Bihâr ; while the fertile delta of Bengal was to be the prey of the Nagpore Bhonsala, then known as the " Raja of Berar."

The forces on which the confederates were to depend comprised 12 brigades of Regulars with guns in proportion ; a large staff of European and Eurasian officers ; a force of heavy cavalry ; with predatory horse—of the Pindari type—reckoned at 125,000 lances. On the other side was the resolute Wellesley, telling his Generals that " an effort against Sindhia and Berar was the best possible preparation for the renewal of the war with France."

The moment of crisis approached. The Treaty of Amiens had pleased no one in England ; the Tories were never reconciled to the Revolution, the Whigs objected to the First Consul for the opposite reason that he had destroyed the Republic. Bonaparte himself hardly disguised his feeling that it was only a temporary armistice. When, therefore, the British Cabinet—suspecting hostile designs in Egypt—refused to restore the Island of Malta to the Knighthood to whom it properly belonged, Bonaparte was prepared with his well-known despatch to the Ambassador Whitworth, on which the latter applied for his passports and returned to England. Letters of fear were issued by the British Cabinet on 16th May ; on the 3rd of the following month French troops entered the Kingdom of Hanover ; the news of the rupture of the Peace reached India overland. But, even before he learned that the war had been actually renewed, Wellesley had already addressed an ultimatum to Daulat Rao Sindhia, of whose increasing hostility he was informed by Colonel Collins, his envoy with that Chief.

It was about this time that Perron was reinstated and that he issued the circular to which reference has already been made. Sindhia at the same date maintained close relations with the Raja of Berar, contrary to an express clause in the ultimatum of Collins ; and that officer—under conditional instruction—quitted Sindhia's camp on August 3rd.

The military power which the Calcutta Government had to oppose to the formidable confederacy by which it appeared to

menaced was of moderate strength, to say the most of it, power lay in the quality of its men and of their leaders. He advanced from Cawnpore at the head of 10,000 men, of whom only three cavalry corps and one battalion of Footing British soldiers; the remainder were, however, good native troops officered by Europeans. About 3,500 men were assembled at Allahabad for operations in Bundelkund; 5,200 were not ready to encounter the Berar army in Orissa; while A. Vellasty and Stevenson were directed to enter the Deccan with 7,000 men, supported by a strong reserve in the Province of Madras, or "the Carnatic."

Lake received his last orders on August 17th, after he had already left Cawnpore; and the talents and resources of General Perron were now to be put to the proof. If he had the army in hand and were true to himself, he had the means of a glorious resistance; that he desired to do his duty is the opinion alike of Skinner and of Smith, though the latter—writing, however, after the event—has pointed out the weaknesses which affected his efforts. What followed is matter of familiar knowledge to the student of history; let us look at it, as best we may, in its more intimate relations and as it appeared to persons on the spot.

Perron's first and most honourable act was to send to his Delhi banker an unlimited credit in favour of the royal family, with instructions to the effect that a letter should be sent to Lake in the Emperor's name forbidding the advance of the British army. Du Drénec was ordered up from Malwa with his brigade; and Perron announced to all and sundry his intention to stand by the cause of Sindhia unless he should be regularly relieved of his charge. He also took care to send a large force of cavalry, under Captain Fleury (one of his best French officers) to lay waste the country to the S. E. and oppose Lake's advance. Having taken these measures, he could do no more than await the event.

The stars in their courses fought against him; the measures failed. The Emperor, indeed, signed the required address to Lake; but he sent an agent to Camp, at the same time, to explain that he had only written at the dictation of the French officers, and did not mean a word of it. Hundreds of sepoys, knowing that their wives and families were in the power of the British in their homes in Bihar and Allahabad, deserted daily; and the British-born officers, who had been particularly warned by a Proclamation of the Governor-General, not to bear arms against their own King, were in many instances ready to lay down their commissions. Fleury gained the day in a skirmish with Lake's pickets, but was soon taken prisoner; Du Drénec did not get further than Muttra, where his surrender to Van

deleur has been already noticed. On the 27th, a couple of British officers in Perron's service applied to him for their discharge, on which the General ordered all the rest to leave the camp: on the following day Lake came up and found the troubled Frenchman drawn up with the remainder of his men before the Fort of Aligurh.

The scene that ensued savours of comic opera. Lake sent out a reconnoitring party of cavalry, with what were called "galloper-guns"—a kind of precursor of the horse-artillery of later days; and Perron's Mahratta horsemen dispersed before the shots fired at them. Skinner, who had at that time no particular reason to love his father's nation, and whose character it was to be faithful to his salt, thought that he saw in his General's distress an opportunity of getting the dismissal-order of the previous day reversed. Perceiving Perron badly headed and riding about endeavouring to rally his horsemen, Skinner ran to him, seized the bridle of the charger, and made an offer of service to his distracted General.

"Ah! no," said the General. "All is over. These fellows have behaved badly; do not ruin yourself. Go over to the English; it is all up with us."

Skinner, renewing his assurances of devotion, was now told plainly that confidence was at an end. On his becoming urgent, Perron shook him off, riding away with the repeated cry:—

"Goodbye, Monsieur Skinner! No trust, no trust."

That night the General departed to Hatras, leaving the Fort of Aligurh in the hands of his son-in-law, Colonel Pédron, on whom he enjoined to remember that he represented the honour of France and must hold out to the last extremity (which, be it added, he did). On arrival at Hatras Perron learned that Ambaji was coming up to take the command out of his hands. With this information, and the knowledge that Bourquin was betraying him at Delhi, Perron lost all heart and gave himself up to General Lake at Sasni. He was kindly treated there and passed into a peaceful life in British India, where he spent some time settling his affairs: and the fact, revealed by papers in the possession of the family, that he received several friendly letters from Daulat Rao Sindhia, after his retirement, seems enough to disprove the insinuations against his fidelity in which some writers have sought to bury his name.

General Perron ultimately returned to France in 1806 with a considerable fortune, being then in his 54th year. He bought the Château of Frasnes in the Vendôme country, not very far from the place which he had left, 35 years ago, as a humble workman: here he passed many years of quiet benevolence, like his old commander, de Boigne, with whom he main-

maintained a constant correspondence: and here he died in his 80th year, and was buried in the neighbouring cemetery. He left two sons, both of whom died without issue; his daughters made excellent marriages, one—Countess de la Rochefoucauld surviving till 1892.

Of Perron's loyalty of character there ought to be no question. Even Smith, who considered that the French Commander had dealt unjustly with himself and the other British-born officers of the service, does not hesitate to justify the General's conduct in 1803. "I do not think," he writes, the very next year, "that [Perron] wanted either sense, prudence, or principle, in quitting Sindhia's service when he did." James Mill (Vol. VI, p. 502) is even more favourable. It was the gift of fortune that he was able to leave with life and property; and in so doing he did no harm to a not too faithful employer. In a paper never published, for the use of which I am indebted to the General's great-grandson, he writes in convincing language to all who know the facts:—"The successive treacheries of Bourquin and Pédron, and the suspicious conduct of almost all the other officers, had inspired the Natives with such distrust of Europeans that our lives were in hourly danger. . . . For myself, I only saved mine by great sacrifices of money. He had, moreover, been superseded by Sindhia's orders, if not actually cashiered, at the time when Lake advanced from Cawnpore. This much justice is due to a man who, with no such advantages of birth and breeding as those possessed by his predecessor, yet attained to equal distinction and only failed by reason of events for which he was scarcely answerable. We have seen how much he did when in power; of his character and conduct in retreat those who knew him speak in the highest terms; attesting alike his rectitude, his simplicity, and his wide charity.

The fate of the other non-British officers may be told in a few lines. The faithless Bourquin—who commanded at Delhi—led his two brigades against Lake after the fall of Aligurh, which he might have seriously hindered had he chosen to go to Pédron's relief and taken the small British force between two fires. Even without aid, Pédron made a good fight; and the assault was not accomplished without a loss of 260 to the British, the 76th Foot alone having 73 killed or wounded.

On the 11th September Bourquin crossed the river Jumna and took up a position on the plain between Delhi and the Hindun, having with him a force of 12 battalions, nearly 70

Note.—For information about General Perron I am indebted to the Marquis de Brantes, Captain in the 1st Regiment of Chasseurs in the French Army, whose grandfather, Countess of Montesquiou Fézensac, was the General's eldest daughter.

guns, and 5,000 horses. The advanced guard of the British had just come up, fatigued by a long march, and were preparing to pitch their camp; but Lake took them on as soon as he ascertained the near approach of the enemy, whose position he at once attacked in the fearless old fashion. His whole available strength consisted of the decimated 76th, a few corps of sepoy, a regiment of British Dragoons and another of Native cavalry. The latter went on ahead and were exposed to a terrible fire from Bourquin's batteries, while they sat on their horses awaiting the arrival of the infantry; Lake's horse was shot under him. When the infantry came up, they were formed in line and taken against the enemy's batteries, with shouldered muskets, led by the Commander-in-Chief himself. Drawn up behind their guns, the Regulars offered a sullen defence, unsupported by the cavalry: the British attacked the batteries with fixed bayonets, and Bourquin with his staff galloped from the field; the British line broke into columns, the cavalry charged through the intervals, and the enemy's resistance soon ceased. The French officers surrendered a few days later.

In the following month came the turn of Agra, held by Sutherland's Brigade and further defended by seven battalions who were encamped outside with 26 guns. The walled town was taken, after a bloody struggle, on the 10th October; a week later the garrison asked for terms and were allowed to capitulate. Mr Drenec arrived from Agra, with our old friend Smith, in charge of Colonel Vandeleur of the 8th Dragoons—afterwards killed at Laswaree.

The European officers had now been all taken, or had surrendered of their own free will under the Proclamation. But there was a large part of their followers remaining to be dealt with yet. Raja Ambaji had been appointed to relieve Perron—as already said—, but he too had been in treaty with Lake on his own behalf; so much so, indeed, that in the month of October he had been expected to embrace the British protection on certain conditions. But the conditions were not carried out by him; and Ambaji continued his slow progress northward. By the end of October he had reached a village between Alwar and Agra, known in history as Laswaree—Naswari the correct word. Having been here joined by Du Drenec's command and by the *débris* of the Delhi garrison, Ambaji now had a fine force of 17 regular battalions with 71 guns and 5,000 horses. Lake, pushing on—as was his custom—at the head of his cavalry, found this army well posted in a semi-circle of which the Mewat hills were the arc and a deep stream the cord. It was about sunrise on the morning of November 1st, when Lake forded the water and charged the enemy's lines without waiting for the infantry to come up. He had about

5,000 men with him, of whom little over a quarter were European Dragoons. Three times did these fearless cavaliers ride through the high grass jungle, charge the guns, and break the line of the Regulars, while the Mahratta horsemen looked on according to their use and wont. Vandeleur was killed; horses and men became weary; the guns could not be brought away; Lake had to retire to the other side of the water and give his men rest and food. In the meantime the British infantry arrived; and, after an attempt at negotiation on the part of Ambaji had failed, the action was renewed. Never did British troops behave with a steadier valour, seldom did British troops encounter a more worthy foe. The General's horse was once more killed, and his son got a severe wound while assisting his father to mount a fresh charger; General Ware's head was taken off by a round shot. At length the guns were taken; Ambaji, dismounting from his elephant, galloped away on horseback, the resistance declined after his disappearance, and finally ceased, with a loss of 7,000 men and all the guns. The British loss in that stubborn contest amounted to 13 officers and over 800 men.

With the battles of Asai and Argaon in the South, the war ceased; and Sindhia concluded the *Annus Mirabilis* by a Treaty in which he engaged to employ no Europeans or Americans without the knowledge and consent of the British Government.

Thus ended, three years after the beginning of a new century, the career and calling which had given such a romantic hue to the generally prosaic age just expired. Two of the officers, however, lived to distinguish themselves in the British service, of whom one came from the army of Sindhia and one from that of Holkar.

CHAPTER XII.

We have seen how James Skinner attempted to stand by Sindhia's French General in his last attitude of defence; and it may be asked why he, a man whose name sounds so English, and who died a Colonel and Companion-of-the-Bath in the British service, should have been willing to run all hazards against the soldiers of his mother-country. The explanation must be sought in the peculiar conditions of his origin and early life.

Skinner was born about 1778, his father being a subaltern in the British army in Bengal, and his mother a Rajpoot lady with whom the subaltern had a transient intimacy. After an attempt to apprentice the boy to a Calcutta printer, which entirely failed owing to his restless and venturesome nature,

the father was fain to let him take his own wilful way, which led him to the wild life of a private spearman, ending by a subaltern's commission in one of Sindhia's regular regiments of infantry. He served in the little war against George Thomas, and we are indebted to him for anecdotes such as have been already related. Up to the date of Lake's advance Skinner had lived amongst his men, and had an ignorance of the British as profound as theirs. He had also, as it seems, a special grudge against the race to which his father belonged, which was shared by others in a like position to his own. Brought up by native mothers whom the temporary partners had often deserted, their sympathies were with the people of the country. Skinner, for one, desired nothing better, at this time, than to strike a blow for Sindhia, whose salt he had eaten for seven years, ever since he came to man's estate. This Perron's irritation and suspicious condition would not allow; and we have seen that officer riding distractedly without a hat, and bidding Skinner to "go over to the English."

At the end of August accordingly he came into the British camp, with some companions in a like plight. They approached the General's tent with fear and trembling, not knowing how they would be received; but Lake was good to the lads and promised them employment. Skinner had even then too high a sense of honour to accept any duty which might involve him in warfare against his old master, Daulat Rao Sindhia; but Lake was taken with him and gave him police-work on the road towards Cawnpore. Skinner soon raised a body of patrol-horse, with whom he took post at Sikandrabad, 10 miles east of Bulandshahr, in a former cantonment of Perron's army; and from that centre he made expeditions in support of order, which occasionally assumed serious proportions. Of these enterprises of pith and moment History records one against the fort of Malagurh, 4 miles north of Bulandshahr, held by a Mahratta brigand named Madhu Rao, who sent Skinner a peremptory message inviting him to vacate his post and leave the District. Skinner immediately marched against Malagurh, laid siege to the fort, and soon compelled the Mahratta to surrender. His most distant expedition was across the Ganges into what is now the Bijnore District, where—at a place called Aizalgurh—15 miles from Nagina—Skinner met and defeated the Pathan adventurer, Amir Khan, afterwards to become such a thorn in the side of Lake. At length open war broke out between the British and Jaswant Rao Holkar. That Chieftain had been an old enemy of Sindhia; so Skinner had no scruples in acting against him. Recruiting was easy among Perron's former Moghul horse; and Skinner was soon at the head

of a body of cavalry with which he accompanied Lake's heroic marches; in which British Dragoons—after some months of training—succeeded in driving Amir Khas into Central India and running Holkar to earth in the Punjab: Skinner having adopted a curious kind of canary-coloured uniform, which is to this day perpetuated in the corps by which his “yellow-boys” are represented. It is a wonderful item in the always marvellous record of Anglo-Indian warfare, that British cavalry with such associates, learned a speed and endurance which ultimately made them too nimble for their subtle prey. With a saddle-bag containing a handful of meal for food, a blanket and a brass pot for all baggage, each grooming his own horse after a long march, “Mounted Tommy,” with his galloper guns, kept up an emulous companionship with the canary-coloured sowars. They chased Holkar and his Pathan associate across the Duab, crossed the Ganges at Anupshahr, relieved the beleaguered residents of Moradabad and Bareilly, surprised the Mahratta camp at Futtehgurh, expelled the Pathan with the loss of 20,000 of his Pindaris, and drove Holkar to a momentary asylum at Jodhpur.* Thus passed the year 1804; in the following year the Mahratta chief tempted fortune once more, leaving Jodhpur and heading for the Punjab, where he hoped to find an ally in the young Runjit Singh, then engaged in founding a principality at Lahore. Lake and Skinner at once resumed the initiative, and followed him up so briskly that by the 19th December Holkar, being run into before he could reach Lahore, was obliged to submit to Lake's terms and end the war.

In the peaceful days of “non-intervention” under Sir George Barlow, Skinner beat his sabre into a pruning-hook and settled down as an agriculturist on a large scale in Haryana, where he had once, in a very humble capacity, made war upon the gallant Sailor-Prince, George Thomas. He was employed in settling the Districts for several years, and rewarded with the grant of no less than sixty-seven fine farms in and around the lands of Hansi: but he also held an estate in the District of Bulandshahr, at a place called Bilaspore, where a good house and garden are to this day possessed by his descendants. In 1815 Skinner and his Yellow-boys bore an honourable part in the operations of Lord Moira—afterwards Marquess of Hastings—against the Pindari marauders; and for this he was rewarded by the publicly-expressed thanks of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and of several general officers. Similar honours were conferred on

*The British regiments were the 8th, 27th, and 29th Dragoons.

him after operations against Arab mercenaries who broke out at Poona in 1819; and that—with but one exception—was the last of Skinner's active service. His corps now amounted to no less than 3,000 sabres; of which one-third was about this time paid off and disbanded; while another part was posted at Nabuch, in Rajpootan, under his brother Robert: the remaining 1,000 men going into cantonments at Hansi with their old commandant. He had long enjoyed the distinguished friendship of the able and genial Sir John Malcolm—mentioned as employed in the delicate duty of disbanding the legion of Michel Raymond in 1798—and by Malcolm's powerful aid he about this date obtained a perpetual and heritable assignment of the estates in Haryana: these had originally been given to him for the maintenance of his men—under the old quasi-feudal system mentioned in our notices of Sombre and Boigne. Bilaspore appears to have been his own property from the first.

In 1822 Skinner once more visited Calcutta, where he had, as a boy, thrown down his composing-stick to trail a pike in Upper India: here he was made much of and bid to return to Hansi and re-engage his men, who had been disbanded three years before. The times were again becoming troubled; Lord Amherst was preparing for war with Burma; good officers and faithful native soldiers were at a premium. In no long time employment came to Skinner and his Yellow-boys once more.

The period of the first Burmese war was marked by one of those strange epidemics to which India seems always liable. A sort of magnetic storm brooded over the land, causing unrest and reaction. The upper provinces were full of soldiers whose occupation was gone, and whose habits forbade their finding new work in peaceful fields. The police force was unable to keep such people in order, being itself in a state of imperfect organisation; the administration of justice was imperfect and universally unpopular; worst of all, the settlement of the land—always the corner-stone of the Indian social system—was crude, corrupt, and unworkable. Local disturbances ensued; from the Cis-Sutlej country, on the north-west, to the Duab of the Gangetic valley the troops were constantly on the move, to preserve order. In Alwar and in Jaipore the Rajpoot clansmen were at deadly feud among themselves; and matters were now to be complicated by events that were arising in the famous Jat State whose capital was at Bhurtpore, imperfectly subdued by Lake in 1804.

The details belong to general history. Here we have only to notice a broad outline. A disputed succession had occurred in the Jat State; the Raja on his death-bed having procured

the recognition of his infant son by the paramount power, while his brother attempted to supplant the youthful heir. The Governor-General's Agent, the wise and gallant Sir David Ochterlony, considering that the child's life was in danger from the ambition of the uncle, reported accordingly to Calcutta and mobilised the troops at his disposal. This appeared to be succeeding; the usurping uncle offered to come to Ochterlony at Delhi, and to put the young Raja in his keeping.

Unfortunately, there was the Calcutta Council still to deal with, and that august body, thinking itself better informed than the experienced soldier-statesman on the spot, resolved on "making some arrangement by which Sir D. Ochterlony should retire from active employment."^{*} A harsh letter was accordingly despatched to the Agent, rebuking him for what he had done and ordering him to "remand to their cantonments," all the troops that had been called into the field. The indignant veteran laid down his appointment and died; Metcalfe was sent to succeed him; and on arrival wrote to the Council to say that vigorous action ought to be immediately taken. Upon this Lord Amherst declared that his views were "materially altered;" and with the assent of the Council sent Metcalfe powers to act according to his judgment. The policy of Sir David was renewed; but in the meantime the usurper had strengthened his defences and largely augmented the strength of his garrison. Two strong divisions of the Indian army were now launched at the almost impregnable place, which consisted of a walled town and interior citadel before which Lake's efforts had entirely failed twenty years before. An example was felt by Metcalfe to be loudly demanded; Jaipore and Alwar were ready to rise; Sindhia was in evil mood; the unrest of the Southern Mahrattas displayed ominous signs; "we might," so an eye-witness wrote at the time, "look in vain for one friendly independent neighbour, disposed to succour, or even to forbear."

Upon this momentous scene our old adventurer now entered; to fight, once more, and for the last time, in behalf of his benefactors. His second-in-Command was Major William Fraser, of the Civil Service, who held an administrative post in Haryana, but had elected to take the field as a military man on this occasion.† The place was taken, after a five week's siege in which cavalry were usefully employed to make a cordon round the town: Skinner's horse, particularly, co-

* Mr. Secretary Swinton to Sir G. Metcalfe, 10th April 1824.

† Fraser was afterwards murdered by Nawab Shamis-ud-din of Loharu, who was hanged for the crime.

operated by taking possession of the dam by cutting which the waters of a neighbouring lake could have been discharged into the ditch by whose deep bed the town was surrounded. Fraser drove off the enemy's cavalry and saved the dam, the enemy thus being left without a moat; and the mine by which the great bastion was destroyed was rendered easily possible. The sowars were also constantly useful in collecting forage and escorting convoys; and some of them were even named in orders to take part in the storming-party, though the assault was ultimately delivered without them.

In 1826 the Colonel and his men returned to Hansi; and Skinner was soon afterwards gratified by the bestowal of a Lieutenant Colonel's commission in the royal Army and the Third Class Order of the Bath. He had still many years left in which to enjoy his well-earned honours; and he lived an active existence at Hansi, much esteemed by natives and Europeans, and bringing up a large family, one of whom followed his father's footsteps and became in his turn a Commander of Cavalry. Amongst other good works, the old soldier built a large and costly Church at Delhi. Although in his latter days quite English in his habits, he used the Persian language by preference when he had to write at length. When the unhappy heir of the Sombres was contemplating his visit to Europe in 1836, the Colonel addressed him in a Persian ode strongly dissuasive of the step. He also wrote in that idiom the *Memoirs* afterwards translated by Baillie Fraser. He died in 1841, and was buried in the precincts of his Church at Delhi.

A very analogous case was that of W. L. Gardner, whose adventurous career has been well summarised, by Mr. Manners Chichester, in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. XX.). Some MS. matter having come into the hands of the present writer, from a private source, it has been thought that a few additional particulars might be acceptable; the more so because an illustrious writer has drawn general attention to the case by giving to the world a burlesque picture—*mutato nomine*—calculated to give an erroneous idea of a good and gallant officer who had, indeed, many experiences which might deserve such an epithet as "tremendous," but who, nevertheless, was in character a very different man from the "Major Gahagan" of Thackeray. An Irish Major, indeed, who served under Holkar; but who did useful work in India with calm reticence, waiting patiently for opportunity and well content to live and die with honour and without honours.

CHAPTER XIII.

Born of a good stock, and nephew of a distinguished naval officer, William Linnæus Gardner entered the royal Army at the age of eighteen, and in due course obtained a company in the 30th Foot, now 1st Battalion East Lancashire. In 1795 he took part in the ill-advised and worse-conducted landing of French Royalists in Quiberon Bay, where Gardner not only smelt powder, but became acquainted with a nobleman under whom he was to serve again in India many years later.

He joined his regiment in that country about a year after this; but found no scope for his martial ardour. It was at this otherwise uneventful time that Sir John Shore—afterwards Lord Teignmouth—had been unlucky enough to offend the officers of the army, as we noticed in dealing with Bellasis. Whether on that account, or for mere restlessness, Gardner also resigned his commission to seek employ in native service. He engaged under Tukaji Holkar, then almost at the end of his career, one in which he had never manifested much hostility against the British, and had, indeed, generally acted as the subordinate of the wise and good widow of the founder of the state, the celebrated Ahalya Bai. Soon after this, however, Tukaji died, having survived his Mistress for a short time, during which he had carried on the administration at Indore; and his place fell to an illegitimate son—the brave but ferocious Jaswant Rao of whom we have already had glimpses. Hence all sorts of trouble arose; so that it was not long before the new officer found work to do.

The first efforts of Jaswant Rao, after getting rid of certain competitors to the succession, was to punish Daulat Rao Sindhia, who had been profiting by the domestic troubles of the clan. It was not, however, till late in 1799 that all was settled, and the Regulars—under Colonel Du Drenec—were ready to act under the new Chief. The first engagement was that fierce fight with Sindhia's army, commanded by Hessing, of which something has been said above; it was fought at Ujain and ended in the defeat of Hessing, who was the only one of the white officers on Sindhia's side that was not either killed or captured.

But the tables were soon turned. Ere long the unlucky Holkar lost a battle that cost him his camp, his guns, and his capital City of Indore. Du Drenec deserted to the winning side; but several of the British-born officers remained faithful to Holkar; and Gardner was one. Their fidelity soon met with a cruel recompense. On the 25th October, 1802, they underwent a fresh trial, when Sindhia made a final bid for power in the Deccan, but were at last completely victorious though a

gallant young comrade, named Harding, lost his life. This engagement occurred near Poona, the possession of which city was one of the spoils. The Peshwa fled to British protection, having taken sides with Sindhia's General; and the beginning was made of that train of negotiation that was to end in the Treaty of Bassain and the dawn of the new Empire of India.

Holkar now changed his policy; joining with Sindhia in machinations against the British—as mentioned in relating the fall of Perron—which produced a combination of alarming appearance as long as it was confined to talk. As we have seen, these plans were rudely shattered by the British Governor and his Generals before Holkar had committed himself by any act of overt hostility. Whilst he was still wavering, this Chief was disposed to try whether he could make terms for himself, and it struck him that Gardner was a man fitted, by character and social standing, to plead his cause with Lake. Gardner—who was now married to a Moslem lady, daughter of the Nawab of Cambay—was ready to undertake the mission to the British Camp; and, being furnished with due credentials, he departed, leaving his family under the Chief's protection.

The emissary was, doubtless, honest, but the principal was probably insincere; that at least was the feeling in Lake's mind; after some discussion the negotiation came to nought, and Gardner took his leave and rode back to Holkar's Camp. Dismounting at the door of the durbar-tent, he entered the presence of the Chief, who was sitting on the floor propped on cushions; and, in all probability, more or less intoxicated—his “constant custom of an afternoon.” Around him sat the parasites and officers by whom he was attended in hours of business, and Gardner was bid to give an account of his proceedings. Holkar was annoyed at his envoy's ill-success; and, although he knew that this was not the fault of the envoy, he began to vent his spleen at the delay, which he said was so. From complaints he got to insolent upbraiding, winding-up with an assurance that, had not Gardner returned when he did, the wall of his private tents would have been thrown down by order. This last insult was, like the rest, a mere piece of drunken ill-temper; but the Irish gentleman took it for a studied provocation. He knew that the Chief's mind had been filled with sinister anxieties as to the fidelity of his European officers, many of whom, indeed, he ultimately put to death. Gardner's own life now trembled in the scales of Fate. Indignation at the double affront to his fidelity and to his family overpowered the prudence that is seldom very strong in a European provoked by an Asiatic. “Drawing my sword,” he used afterwards to relate, “I attempted to cut Holkar down, but was prevented by those about him. Ere they had recovered

from their amazement, I rushed from the tent, sprang upon my horse, and was soon out of reach of my pursuers."

After this hare-brained exploit—which certainly vies with the most doughty deeds of Major Gahagan—our adventurer had some further wild experiences. In his flight he fell into the power of the Peshwa's intriguing brother, Amrit Rao, by whom he was invited to bear arms against the British in the Deccan. Gardner, refusing, was bound to a cot and left for execution; but even this did not exhaust his resources or shake his high resolve. Being ere long unbound and directed to march with a guard, he took occasion, on passing over a cliff, to throw himself into the water below, by a fall of fifty feet. He then swam down the stream until his guard had been eluded; then assumed the disguise of a grass-cutter; and finally—after some farther wanderings—arrived in the British Camp. General Lake accorded him a kind reception, and commissioned him to raise a corps of cavalry for whose maintenance he was to have the estate of Kasgunje in the Etah District. He was soon relieved from anxiety on the score of his wife; Holkar either had a qualm of conscience, or was unwilling to offend her father, the Nawab; the lady was allowed to depart unscathed, and she presently joined her lord at Kasgunje, which was to be their home for many years to come, and where they finally died within a few weeks one of the other.

But, before finally retiring into private life, Gardner had still some useful work to his hand. The papers above referred to bear a special reference to this affair, which happened during Moira's Nepalese war, say between 1814 and 1816, as will be found related in our next chapter. The Governor-General was of that Anglo-Irish race which, from Sir Eyre Coote to the Roberts of to-day, has given so many soldiers and statesmen to the Empire. As Colonel Rawdon, he had held the post of Adjutant-General, and had learnt something of the art of war; in 1793 he had succeeded, on the death of his father, to the newly-created earldom of Moira, and had become a friend of the Prince of Wales. In 1806 he was made Master-general of the Ordnance; and was employed in political dealings by his royal friend, now Prince of Wales. In 1812 the excellent Minto had intimated an intention of laying down his office—there was no five-years' rule in those days, nor till long after—and, before the time had come, Moira was sent out to take charge from him. He landed in October 1813, a shocking example, it must be admitted, of Court-patronage.

Nevertheless, as events were to develop themselves, this act of flagrant interference with the East India Company and its Governor-General, was to be abundantly justified. The undistinguished Staff-Officer, society-man, and courtier, thus un-

expectedly promoted to what was the most exalted and trying position in the British Empire, proved—though an ungrateful posterity hardly recollects the fact—to be chief integrator of the sway of Britain in the East. Things were already in a similar state of unsettlement to what has been already noticed as existing some ten years later; a state the recurrence of which is one of the main apologies for the appearance of British aggressiveness in the Indian peninsula. The anarchy which had been for a moment got under by Lake and Wellesley, was in movement again, like a buried Titan. In Central India the Pindari marauders were abroad; Rajputan, bleeding to death under the hands of Sindhia and Amir Khan, was feebly calling for deliverance; Oudh was a scene of misgovernment and insecurity; Rohilkhand and the Duab were disturbed by robber-barons.

As soon as he was fairly instructed in what was on foot, the new Governor announced his intentions; "our object ought to be to make the British Government paramount, in reality if not declaredly." (*Memorandum* of February 6th, 1814) With this intention, in his 60th year, the veteran set out on a tour in Upper India, hoping against hope that he was not on the edge of "a war more general than any that we have hitherto encountered," and that an invasion by the Nepalese was not to be added to his other tribulations.

It was in this instant of anxiety that Gardner found his opportunity. The beginning of 1814 saw him preparing to enter the Nepalese territory, not as an invader, but in the peaceful capacity of a hunter and fisher, accompanying his cousin, the Hon'ble Edward Gardner (Assistant Resident at Delhi), on a sporting expedition to the Dehra Doon, then held by the Nepalese. Edward, however, could not go at present; and in April the gallant Major wrote to him from Dehra, where he had got himself into a nest of human hornets. The place was held by an officer of Gurkhas—they are there still, but no longer enemies—who adopted an attitude of anger at Gardner's intrusion; for a moment, he was in some danger. Luckily, the Mahunt of the Sikh Temple—"the Bishop," Gardner calls him—was friendly; and by this prelate's influence the sportsman was at last allowed to depart in peace, instead of being shot as a spy.

Open war with Nepal came in November and proved a more serious affair than any one had looked for. Like our mountaineer foes of later days, the Highlanders of the north-east frontier were energetic adversaries upon their native heights. Colonel Carpenter, indeed, entered the Doon, having forced the Timil Pass; but the little fort of Kalanga held out; and a grave disaster befell the British force by which it was besieged.

The Gurkha Commandant defended the fort with a weak Battalion, repelling three assaults, during which the brave Sir Rollo Gillespie was killed, together with a number of British officers and men, far exceeding that of the little garrison; further eastward the British General conducted the campaign with the utmost imbecility, declaring his need of more guns and men. When reinforced, and with odds of ten to one, he still held back; at last mounting his horse by night and riding away, all alone, to his head-quarters. These disgraceful events occurred, be it noted, in the year before Waterloo.

In that hour of darkness a great leader appeared, in the person of General Ochterlony, afterwards so shamefully treated in the affair of Bhurtpore. While this good and gallant officer was advancing to the operations which ultimately had such a happy end, Gardner's accurate vision detected a weak place in the long line of the enemy by which he hoped to effect a most valuable co-operation.

The Gurkhas had been making annexations which became a cause of weakness rather than of strength; with an army of not much over 12,000 strong they had a frontier of about 700 miles to defend. About half-way between Katmandoo, their capital; and Malaon, their westernmost fortress, lay the beautiful sub-alpine Province of Kumaon, where the Government of the North-West Provinces has now its pleasant Head-quarters during the burning summer of Hindustan. On the North it is bounded by the finest *Oberland* in the world, with passes into Thibet, lower than the glacier-strewn peaks, but themselves higher than any of our European mountains; the rivers—which are numerous—flow east and south until they fall at last into the mighty Ganges below; and the valleys thus formed are the natural approaches to the country. On the dividing ridges are plateaux and fertile uplands, now covered with profitable woods or flourishing tea-plantations: on the crest of one of these was a Gurkha Fort, called Almora; but the garrison was weak. The newly-conquered races by which Kumaon was peopled were sparse and of gentle nature; the Gurkha troops were more required elsewhere; and Gardner, detecting with a soldier's eye the weakness and at the same time the value of the Province, wrote to his cousin to propose its immediate occupation. On this the Resident at Delhi gave Edward orders to move upon the Doon—by this time cleared of the enemy—and a Captain Hearsey, whose name we recollect in the service of George Thomas, was sent on a reconnaissance in Kumaon.

On the 21st of November Major Gardner wrote a somewhat doubtful letter to his cousin to which he added an important postscript:

"It appears to me that your army (when you get it) will score as a false attack if we are otherwise successful. At all events, it will help to divide their force and distract them while it will prevent reinforcements going to Amar Singh;" that was the name of the Gurkha General against whom Ochterlony was then operating. "On mature consideration this is my idea."

It was the final decision of a resolute mind that only seemed to vacillate while both sides of the question had been under consideration. For the words just quoted contained a strategic conclusion in the way to immediate effect. The plan was adopted and proved the solution of the N. E. frontier problem, not for the moment only, but for the remaining three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

A week later Edward was prepared to start for Kumaon; and the Major was with him. At the end of January 1815—while Marley was fumbling on the eastern extremity and Ochterlony operating on the west, beyond Simla, the sub-alpine hills were invaded by a compact force of native infantry with some light guns. Hearsey was in a scrape, having been surprised by the enemy and carried a prisoner to Almora. But the Ex-minister of the Kumaoni Raja, whom the Gurkhas had dispossessed, was on the side of the invaders; and with his assistance the country became most friendly and the campaign prospered. On the 26th of April, 1815, Almora was taken, by Colonel (afterwards Sir Jasper) Nicholls; and Gardner was deputed to confer with the Gurkha General. In the negotiation which ensued the Gurkhas agreed to give up their strong places, let Hearsey go, and finally evacuate the Province. Gardner remained at Almora for some time with his levies, cutting off Amar Singh from his base; and that brave soldier, deprived of reinforcements, deserted by many of his followers, and constrained by his own officers, surrendered to Ochterlony on the 10th May, engaging to abandon all the Gurkha conquests west of the Jumna, and to send orders for the evacuation of the rest of the hill-country up to the eastern border of Kumaon.

The full consequences of this were not immediately reaped; because Amar Singh, when he returned to Head-Quarters, was compelled by his Government to break his agreement and try conclusions once more. On the 12th February of the succeeding year the indefatigable Ochterlony renewed the attack, striking this time at the enemy's capital. Peace was finally made on the 3rd March, 1816; and the gallant Gurkhas have, like the Sikhs, similarly subdued in later years, been amongst our best friends from the day of their submission. Of the particular value of Gardner's plan of cam-

CRCU 73

campaign we have two indications. It facilitated the complete close of the war; and it gave to Upper India three or four *sanitaria* where business is transacted, health restored, and a reserve force of white troops maintained. The possession of such places as Simla, and Naini Tal has its dangerous side perhaps; to consider which is beyond our present scope. But the value from a military point of view, of Landour, Ranikhet, and other convalescent depôts for white troops can hardly be exaggerated.

Gardner's warfare was accomplished; and the administration of his old commander made an end of the great Anarchy. Moira was created Marquess of Hastings, and finally fell into money-trouble and died, in poverty and exile. But his work too was done; and in importance is more deserving of a place in history than that of men whose names are more generally remembered.*

Gardner spent the rest of his life as a country-gentleman, save for a short and uneventful campaign in Rajputan. He commanded his old Regiment—now the Second Bengal Cavalry—and in 1822 obtained the welcome distinction of being reinstated in the Royal Army, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, the commission bearing the date of his leaving Holkar—25th September 1803. The wife of his youth continued to be dear to his advancing years; with one singular result; that all his offspring were married to natives of India, and their descendants have adopted the native life. The present Lord Gardner is his grandson; and of this nobleman Debrett affords the following description:—

"Alan Hyde, *born* July 1st, 1836; was sometime in a Native Police Force; described in marriage-certificate as 'a Trader;' married March 12th, 1879, by a Methodist Minister in the house of his father to Jane (a native Indian), daughter of Angam Shekoh, and has issue living, Alan Legge, *born* October 25th, 1881. *Residence*: Village of Munowta, Nadri, Etah, N.-W. P., India." Lady Gardner is the grandchild of the last King of Delhi, in whom terminated the line of Timur, known as the "Great Moghul."

Whatever may be thought of a noble British race thus absorbed in Asiatic stagnation—like the Greeks of Menander—no one can question the merits of William Linnaeus Gardner. He was a specimen of the British gentleman of a high type; handsome, tall, and brave; a good horseman and devoted to all kinds of sport. Partly educated in France, he possessed considerable European culture; history, blue-books, and even—

* For a brief summary of this administration, in its military and political aspects, see next Chapter.

scientific works, all interested his mind; he was acquainted with mathematics; could survey and draw maps.

At last all these experiences and gifts came to a peaceful end: Colonel Gardner died, in his country-house at Kasgunge, 29th July 1835, and was soon followed in death by his faithful Begum. Nothing more need be said to show the inaccuracy of our great novelist's caricature. Like the fictitious "Gahagan," indeed, the deceased adventurer had bearded the truculent Holkar in durbar, and won the affections of a Princess. But, unlike the imagined swash-buckler, he was a modest, retiring gentleman, with strong rural proclivities and a hatred of self-assertion almost morbid.*

Skinner and Gardner are, further, noticeable as the founders of that admirable force which, first under the title of "Irregular Cavalry," and subsequently as Bengal Cavalry," has become one of the most distinguished items of the British Army.

(To be continued.)

* We have seen that Gardner had served under Rawdon at Quiberon, in 1795: when that nobleman, as Lord Moira, came up the country, in 1814, Gardner would not recall himself to the notice of the Governor-General, though urged to do so by friends. By a curious coincidence an adventurer of the same name appeared subsequently at the Court and Camp of Runjit Singh of Lahore (*v.* "Colonel Alexander Gardner, etc., by Major Hugh Pease: Edinburgh, 1898." A book of deep interest. The two Gardners were not of kin, Alexander being an American of Scottish origin).

ART. II.—LANGUAGE.

ITS

(I) BIRTH; (II) DEVELOPMENT AND LIFE; (III) DECAY AND DEATH.

Communicated to the Eleventh International Oriental Congress at Rome, by ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

I have laid upon the table of the Congress, at which from the infirmity of old age I am unable to attend, a certain number of copies of two little books entitled :

(1) 'The Gospel in many Tongues;' (2) '400 Tongues.' The former contains one single verse of one of the Gospels, translated into 300 languages, still made use of by men, either for purposes of speaking or reading, in every portion of the world, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. They are published and circulated below cost-price by the Bible-Societies, which are supported by voluntary subscriptions. The latter details the names of the 400 languages in which translations have been circulated up to the present year. An enlarged edition of the former volume is in preparation to bring the subject up to date. I make no allusion here to the one motive power, or sole object, of this enterprise, and confine myself to the human phenomena, which are developed by the intercomparison of these specimen verses. Under no other possible circumstances could such a variety of language and script have been brought together. One can imagine, how specimens of the languages of a kingdom like Russia, or of a province like British India, might have been brought together for purposes of State or for public instruction, but in this case the whole world contributed. Take, for instance, pp. 22, 23, of the first book, and the following entries are found in alphabetical order :

59. Coptic, Africa.

60. Corea, Asia.

61, 62. Cree, America.

63. Crim-Turki, Asia.

64. Croat, Europe.

The slightest inspection of the word-store and structure of these few sentences will show how vain and unscientific is the cherished notion, that all language proceeded from the same seed-plot, instead of being the totally distinct offspring of the human intellect under the influence of different environments.

Like the leaves of the trees of the forest, the languages of the human race come into existence, bud, blossom, fade away, and fall out of use and are forgotten. Sanskrit, Zend, Hebrew and Latin had their days before the Christian Era, and then died

away, their place being taken by younger vernaculars. And this process is always going on. There seems no fixed law, for it is obvious, that some languages—such as the Egyptian and Assyrian and Hebrew—have been dead for many centuries, leaving no descendants. Sanskrit and Latin have, indeed, died, but have left large families of linear descendants. There is a third category, containing such languages as Arabic and Greek, which have lived on to the present epoch, are still made use of as vehicles of speech, and have produced no offspring, except weak dialects, such as exist in the case of all living forms of speech.

I make no allusion to Literature; the life of a language practically dead is sometimes prolonged for liturgical, literary, social, or political purposes. I have myself conversed at Banāras with Brahmins in the Sanskrit language, and at Rome in Latin with the priests, both languages, though dead, having a conventional prolongation of life for other purposes than the ordinary requirements of humanity. My remarks are restricted to the articulate sounds issuing from the human mouth in obedience to the Thought of the individual, the sounds being articulate, and the result of teaching, and susceptible of expansion and modifications, the result of contact with other languages, or the importation of new Thoughts.

I cannot but think, that the word read *Λόγος*, which Philo of Alexandria borrowed from Plato of Athens, and John of Ephesus borrowed from Philo and made a new use of, conveys the primary Thought of 'Reason,' 'Understanding,' 'Reflection,' and that 'Word, Saying, Speech' is only the secondary idea which it suggests, as they are merely the human vehicles of communicating the divine primary Thought. At any rate, the ordinary Greek dictionaries tell us so. 'Language' is but the vehicle of 'Reason,' and without that substratum the utterance of the human race is little better than that of the animal, as evidenced by the utterances of the idiot and the maniac. The words uttered are articulate, but they have no meaning in themselves. And this view is confirmed by the fact, that the laws of Thought are called Logic.—*ἡ λογικὴ Τέχνη*.

Mr. R. L. Garner has published a book on 'The Language of Monkeys,' which may or may not be a first utterance on a great subject. It is not well to laugh down any patient scientific investigation of the secrets of nature. We have learnt our lesson in this century, *viz.*, to suspend our judgment. As to the origin of language, we are feeling our way. If it be asked in what language Adam addressed Eve, we can only suppose, that it was by the squeeze of the hand, gentle poke in the rib, a twinkle of the eye, or signs and gestures. In a few days these formed themselves into a code supplemented by

sounds, as the vocal organs, found their powers. Infants' movements are now watched, that a conception may be formed how Thoughts are conveyed, and the sound of 'Mamma' suggested as indicating an important visitor. In the world of birds, I find that sounds have an intelligible meaning. The hen has her well-known cry of alarm, of assembly, or home-call to her little ones. Rising up to vertebrate animals, I need hardly do more than allude to the friendly, the hostile, and the frightened notes of the dog, cat, and horse; and it is nothing surprising that, as the monkey is nearer to the *genus homo* in outward conformation of body, so its power of expressing itself may be assumed to be the most highly developed among animals. Among savage tribes, the naked native white-haired old man and old woman, crouching on their hips, grinning and chattering in their own unintelligible way, differ very little in outward appearance, and, as far as we can tell, in intellectual and spiritual capacity, from the anthropoid ape.

Incidentally it may be remarked, that language is not the only vehicle of communication used by the *genus homo*. In the Canary Islands a whistle-language is used by the natives. On the opposite shore of the Kâmeruns in West Africa there is a drum-language. Any conversation can be carried out by means of whistling, and be understood a mile off; each syllable has its peculiar tone, the fingers are placed on the lips while whistling. The necessity has arisen from the existence of rugged and unbridged ravines, which divide villages from each other. Gesture-language is on a higher level. Similar phenomena have been remarked among the North American Indians, in Africa, and in Australia.

The voiceless mode of communication with the deaf and dumb illustrates this also. The notion of an articulate sound expressing a Thought is recognised by the deaf, but they cannot hear it owing to their aural infirmity; they can, however, watch the mouth of the speaker, and are taught the mechanism of the lips which must be used to express certain sounds, and are able to know with certainty what is said. I was present at one of Henry Stanley the traveller's lectures, of which the purport was conveyed to a deaf and dumb young woman, who watched the motion of the lips of her teacher.

In the lowest stage of culture the practice of conveying messages by tokens is notorious. In 1857 the mutineers in East India made use of cakes baked on the hearth (chupâti) to carry messages from village to village. In West Africa the twigs of the trees are broken or bent, as parties pass through the forest, that their followers may know their track. We read how in former days a fiery

cross was handed on from village to village. But, as time went on, something more certain was required, and the art of script on papyrus, parchment, vellum, baked clay, metal tablets, was conceived and developed.

This essay lays no claim to being a scientific production. There are plenty of books that make that claim, written by men who have never left their native country, and have based their linguistic conceptions upon their own or cognate languages. There is abundance of difference of opinion between great European scholars. Nor does this essay pretend to be a careful description of the admitted varieties of language, based on a scholarly examination of documents in dead languages, such as the Akkadian, Egyptian, Zend, Sanskrit, Etruscan, or Latin. For many years of my life I have dwelt alone among natives of British India; their modes of expressing their thoughts, as well as their words, became mine. Perhaps a consideration of facts as exhibited in one verse expressed in about 300 living languages helps the thoughtful mind to arrive at some practical conclusion, more than the dissection in lengthy volumes of the limbs of dead languages, or the vivisection of living ones.

The scholar in his European study cannot realise the position in which the young ruler of subject Asiatic populations finds himself. In the years 1846-49, at the age of twenty-five, I received, and held for three and a half years, charge of a newly conquered district in North India with a population of many thousands, Hindu, Sikh, and Mahometan. I was the only European, but had the service of trained native officials from the older Provinces. In my office, a house during the summer and a tent during the winter, moving on day by day, I recollect how I was seated on a chair in a circle of natives squatting on the ground with their papers spread before them. Some of them used the Persian language and Perso-Arabic form of script for letters to native chiefs; some used the Urdu language in the Arabic script, still further expanded by additional symbols; some used the Hindi language, with its stately Nāgari alphabet, for the village accounts. All the work was going on at the same time, and I could understand it all; and my case was not exceptional. Sometimes an agriculturist would come into Court, and give his evidence in his own rural dialect, the Panābjī; and the Script which he would use, if he used any at all, was the Gurmukhī. Specimens of all four are in the little book laid on the table. My English-speaking clerk from Calcutta was writing my English letters to my dicta-

tion in the adjoining tent. If a chance foreigner from Afghanistan or Kashmir had business, he would make use of the Persian or Kashmiri languages. If the books of a shopkeeper had to be examined, they were found to be in a peculiar script used by the banker and merchant. The sacred books of the three religions were written in Arabic, Nāgarī, and Gurmukhī. Occasionally in my morning ride I came upon some old sacred building covered with inscriptions, of some of which the script and language still require explanation. In conversing in a friendly way with a Brahmin, I had carefully to introduce Hindi terms into my elastic Urdu; and in conversing with a Mahometan I had to do the same with Arabic or Persian words. It is clear that the task of solving the question of the variation of human languages and dialects is with the future, when sufficient data have been brought together from every part of the world.

Care should be taken not to use different words to express the same subject, such as 'idioms,' 'tongues,' 'forms of speech,' 'Language' is the only term. If there are variations of any recognised language, they are 'dialects,' possibly with a literature of their own, and grammars and dictionaries: below them are the rural variations known as *parois*; no other term should be used. During a succession of years I have strenuously laboured to introduce a scientific terminology into the lists of the translations sold by the Bible Society, bringing the nomenclature and orthography of languages into one recognised standard. The isolated translator chooses to add to the name of his particular language an English, or German, or Russian, suffix, or to retain in the English form a native grammatical prefix: these have been relentlessly removed and a uniform system of spelling introduced. Of course the names of languages which are fixed in literature, such as Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, cannot be changed, but that is no reason for transformiag the name of a language in Central Africa or Melanesia.

Again, the distinction between a philologist and a linguist should be maintained. The sciences of Linguistics and Philology are as distinct as those of the botanist and horticulturist: one is a natural science, the other an historic science; one is necessarily comparative; the other not so. A good Latin philologist may be well content to know his Latin Literatures thoroughly; a Linguistic Scholar must know something additional. The philologist is a student of human Thought and knowledge, as deposited in one vessel of literary record only. An ordinary linguist knows

several languages for ready use in speaking and reading; a student of Linguistics as a science is something very different. He deals with language as the instrument of Thought, the vehicle of communication. He traces out the inner life of each language in past periods, forms a theory as to its birth, marks well its development and life, deduces the laws which govern its mutations, and in some cases marks well the signs of growing decay, of vitality and death.

The mischief caused by Theology to linguistic knowledge is as great as it has been to every other branch of science. I bought at Edinburgh a grammar of Hebrew, published this century by a Scotch professor, stating that there were about fifty languages in the world, and that all were derived from Hebrew. A late Bishop, in his Commentary on the Revelation, tries to explain the grammatical errors of a certain portion of the Greek text in a book of the New Testament by calling it 'the grammar of inspiration.' The power of emitting articulate language is, indeed, one of the congenital gifts to the human race by the great Creator, which was denied to the rest of the animal creation, but the utterances are not miraculous gifts, but the slowly evolved creation of the human mind by its own human powers; and the language of a people is but the expression of its own intellectual and spiritual life, and in each language the peculiar character of the people who built up the language seems to reflect itself.

'Thought' is, indeed, *Δῶρον Θεοῦ*, the gift of God, to the human race. The mechanism of the throat and mouth-organs so as to produce articulate sounds is of the same divine plan. These two gifts differentiate man from the brute beast. Dr. Bell, at a lecture at the Philological Society twenty years ago, allowed us to look into the mouth of a patient, and with a penholder indicated the situation and action of the different organs, which created the sounds so well known to me in my studies of Greek and Sanskrit as guttural, palatal, labial, and dental.

There, however, the divine portion ends. Whatever theologians, falsely so called, have written to darken the subject, it is now cleared away. The Thought—or rather the brain, which is the Thought-store—is no doubt influenced by inspiration, but the words are the creations of human fancy, and are used for good or evil, for blessings or curses, and the term 'inspiration' applied to words heard by the ear, or seen by the eye in script, is based on a misunderstanding, and is a mere poetic fancy.

I. BIRTH OF LANGUAGE.

Language is only one way in which Thought can be expressed; there are others as well, not, indeed, capable of the fine distinctions of language, but yet sufficient for everyday purpose of communication, which is the primary and sole object of language.

Gesture, nodding, beckoning with the hand, shrugging the shoulders, grimace with the features, squeezing the hand, kissing the face, kicking with the toe, striking with the fist, action and movement of the arms on the platform. Add to these glances of the eye, frowns of the forehead, inarticulate sounds, such as cries of alarm, hisses of disapprobation, soothing and coaxing sounds. However low the state of culture of the savage man, he had access to the secret fountains of the stream of sound, in which he inclosed his Thoughts for the information of his neighbours; for when gestures failed, out of his own consciousness he fashioned articulate sounds. Onomatopœia, or the mimetic power of imitating the sounds of animals, such as the dog, cat, cow, and birds, followed the imitation of the sounds produced by nature.

Let us consider the subject physically: What is Language? It is

- (1) The expression and crystallisation of Thought conceived in the brain;
- (2) By the instrumentality of a succession of sounds;
- (3) Which are produced by a current of air passing from the top of the windpipe, and modified in different ways by the language-organs;
- (4) Which are four in number: the uvula, or soft palate, which is movable at the back of the mouth; the tongue; the teeth; the lips;
- (5) The current of air above described is the material of language.

It must be recollected, that the power of expressing the articulated sounds, and of improving that power in the course of time, and handing on such improvements from generation to generation, is the divine congenital gift: the particular language is the construct of human ingenuity, and each child, as he grows in consciousness, has to acquire it from those midst whom his early life is spent. It does not come to them naturally, like hunger or sleep; there is nothing hereditary in the language itself, for our English children, born in India, pick up and speak the native languages of India from their attendants. So in England the child brought up by a French nurse speaks French. If a child were secluded from contact with other members of the human race, it would not use articulate language at all, but have to fall back on

gesture and the imitation of the sounds of animals and nature. They were not born with the power of clothing their Thoughts in some outward form for purpose of communication, but they have to learn how to do so at some period of their lives by contact with others.

The inquiry whether Thought preceded language, or language preceded Thought, seems a profitless one. No doubt the Thoughts of men have grown wider with the progress of the sun. At the early stage of human life when language came into existence, no doubt the Thoughts of men did not extend beyond food, shelter, and the means of getting them. Rudimentary Thought was the parent of rudimentary language, and, if this be accepted, the question as to the origin of language is answered. We have no data on which to form a judgment. With regard to European and Asiatic languages, with which branch of the subject linguistic scholars are most familiar, there is a lengthened catena of written records, stretching backwards for thousands of years; but we may well postulate the existence of centuries antecedent to the earliest of these scripts, of the language of which silent years we know nothing more than we knew of the languages of North and South American, Africa with the exception of the northern Provinces, and Oceania entirely, before the occupation of these countries by European nations.

Of one fact we have direct and also indirect evidence. It has always been deemed a singular phenomenon, that the language of the Red Indians of North America cannot be reduced to words, but the simplest form is that of a rude sentence. Here is a physical fact, that at least as regards these tribes their Thoughts were clothed in sentences, or a combination of words conveying a developed Thought, at a period before any culture commenced. This fact has suggested the theory that possibly in all languages the sentence is the original form in which the Thought was conveyed by the speaker to his companion, for it is impossible to think except in some proposition, and a proposition presupposes words connected with each other in some rude catena or sentence. It seems logical to presuppose, that before sounds can become significant they must express the whole Thought which has to be conveyed, and therefore must take the form of a sentence.

Not only were words made by human intelligence, but they were prepared for use by human ingenuity, and the structure of sentences divided into classes, isolated, agglutinative, inflexive, with other devices such as reduplication of syllables, suffixes, prefixes and servile letters. At the same time a process of mutilation was going on owing to the un-

fortunate pronunciation of speakers, or the arbitrary fancy of copyists of perishable records. How fortunate it has been that tablets in metal, and on stone, baked bricks, and papyri, hidden away in tombs, have survived and come down to us with the *ipsissima verba* of the original inscribers!

II. DEVELOPMENT AND LIFE.

There may be additions to a language to maintain it up to the requirements of the epoch; improvement of expression so as to be more accurate; enlargement of word-store; and there may be also mannerism or eccentricity in style, such as that of the sect of Quakers in past centuries. There may be, and must be, a constant supply of words coined with precision to represent new Thoughts, or new facts, or new objects; there may be improvements by more careful restatements of the knowledge of past generations. This implies no change in the linguistic structure or the character of the language. The old language still lives on; as a fact, each group of languages, and to a certain extent each language, has its own law of development, its own linguistic laws peculiar to itself.

But still, as years go, on we recognise signs of change; sometimes from internal, sometimes from external causes. Sometimes a strengthening, sometimes a weakening, of the old language; sometimes a manifest importation of new elements from other languages. The English language and the great Vernacular of North India, the Urdu, *alias* Hindustani, with which last I am very familiar for purposes of reading, writing, and speaking, are instances of this ~~un~~ ceasing change.

It is said that there are three causes of change: (1) imitation; (2) emphasis; (3) laziness. Old words die; new words come into existence; the meanings of some words become by lapse of time changed; every devotional book, or Bible-translation, supplies instances of this. The appearance of words becomes changed; new Thoughts require new words, the mode of spelling alters. English books published in the United States illustrate this. Foreign words introduce themselves, Fashion banishes some words from use. A kind of slang brings others into use. Young people are tempted to use new words of an extravagant character. The life of words depends on their use; disuse means oblivion and death. The most despotic sovereign or tyrannical Parliament has no efficient power over language. In such matters people do as they choose, and give no reason for so doing. Just as sometimes in the actions of the human race, so in their language, environment is stronger than heredity, and the old ancestral word gives way to new exotics, and the speakers are not aware of the change.

The change may be caused by political events. Notably in modern times it is the policy of the French Government to force the French language on the native inhabitants of their colonies; notoriously the use of other languages is excluded, and English-speaking Missionaries are not allowed to open schools. The policy in British colonies is different. No foreign language is excluded, but the English language has a tendency to supplant native languages. Looking back to the past, when Julius Cæsar landed in Britain the English language did not exist. With the invasion of the Angles and Saxons commenced the Anglo-Saxon language. With the invasion of the French-speaking Normans another change took place, and in this manner came into existence the English language with the singular and unique characteristic of being free from the bondage of grammatical inflexions. Except in particular survivals, the speaker of the English language is not troubled with the superfluities of gender, number, or case. Of all Indo-European languages the Persian language alone shares this linguistic liberty, which peculiarly fits them both for expansion. Some words seem to have been imported from France into England twice over. Take the word 'fragile'; it got into Middle English as 'frail,' into modern English as 'fragile.'

Speakers think that they control the use of words, but in very deed the word often controls the speaker. Each word in every language has its history: it has had one or more meanings; it has lasted for such and such a period, and then disappears and dies. If philosophically considered, new light is from this study thrown upon the secret workings of the human intellect.

Moreover, so entirely is change a necessary feature of the life of a language, and recognised to be so, that when in a written language there is an absence of change in documents claiming to be of dates spreading over many hundred years, a suspicion is engendered as to the correctness of date assigned to the earlier documents; for instance, if anyone should compare the English language as spoken and written in the time of King Alfred and Queen Victoria, a period of 1,200 years, it will be evident that, though the language is identical, the change has made it unintelligible without careful study. But in the Hebrew language from the date of the Pentecost to the Captivity, a period of 1,300 years, there is no change. Any person who can read Ezckiel can read the Pentateuch. This raises the question as to the accuracy of the dates assigned to the Pentateuch, the question being further complicated by the non-existence of any Alphabetical form of script at that period, at any rate as far as any proof exists.

Let us pass on to the subjects of dialects, and use that term and that term only for a variation in a standard-language differing in pronunciation, word-store, and structure to a certain extent, but still unquestionably remaining a portion of the same language. A dialect is not necessarily a corruption of a language; the two may have had independent initial influence, and they act and react on each other. In many cases both language and dialect have their own independent script and literature. In China there is a mistaken use of the term 'dialect,' which is applied to provincial vernaculars, which have all the right to be considered separate languages.

Dialects both precede and follow the existence of their so-called parent-language. A potent dialect may develop to full life as a great conquering language, as English, a dialect of German, and Urdu, a dialect of Hindi, have done. On the other hand, the speakers of a great language, as the result of isolation or neglected culture, or professional idiosyncrasies, develop unconsciously a new dialect such as that current among sailors, or colonists in a distant island, miners in the bowels of the earth, or manufacturers in a great business, where the environment is quite peculiar. The sole object of language is communication: all that unites certain classes of individuals in to special bodies, with special necessities, tends to create a special form of communication, or a business-dialect. All that diminishes the opportunities of communication, the breaking up of a tribe into separate and isolated sections, or castes, or classes, produces a rift in the common language, if they ever had one, and generates a local form of language, whether the people like it or not. As a fact they are unconscious of it.

There can be little doubt that, if the language spoken by each individual of us in the course of a given period were analysed, it would be found to exhibit some peculiarity of its own, either in word-store or pronunciation, or even structure. In the conceptions of the thoughts of each person there is an individuality of character, the result of knowledge, education, natural talent, feelings, weakness, taste, and self-conceit. There are local and perhaps hereditary personal peculiarities of pronunciation, use of words, and tones; for are the words used by two persons in different social environments identical. In fact, each person has to a certain extent his own dialect in speaking, and still more so in writing. I have heard a native in India say that each person had one or two 'flow-words'—'fakya kalam'—which he used more than others from habit and unconsciously. A visitor to London from a Scotch country would soon be recognised by his tones.

and peculiar words. It is stated that in small country villages the supply of words rarely exceeds two hundred, as the thoughts of rural inhabitants are limited to their families, their occupations, and their neighbourhood; their vocabulary is often local. That which has been remarked of an individual in general social life, or of a rural village, is still more marked in a community living very much by themselves. There must be a technical vocabulary for artists, and a scientific vocabulary for scientists, a pseudo-religious vocabulary for ostentatiously pious people. As you pass from one assembly to another, the attention of the trained scholar is at once attracted to the change of word-store and the changed meaning of certain words. The voice is but the reproducer of the thoughts of the brain; the whining petition of the pseudo-beggar, the cautious reply of the professional adviser, the sanctimonious utterances of the self-satisfied priest, the conceited reply of the person who apes at being better than the rest of the world—all these represent dialectical differences of the same language, but the divine instrument of thought is played upon by different performers.

Every separate tribal dialect has the potentiality in it of being the seed-plot of a powerful vernacular of the future. In the congeries of jarring tribes there may be the germs of a great nation; so amidst the babel of discordant dialects, or rather *patois*, or rural dialects, there may be in process of development one of the conquering languages of the twentieth century. Advance of civilisation, aided by favourable circumstances, is the parent of the new nation and her language. In the present epoch civilised nations exert a cruel domination over the uncivilised coloured races, who exist only at their pleasure, to be slaves; if labour is required, to be made drunkards, if profit for alcohol is required, to be slaughtered, if they presume to fight for their country. So it is with the great conquering languages of the world, among which the English stands in the first rank with far the greatest power of absorption. They are urged on to extend their sway, not from malice prepense, but by their inevitable destiny, crowding out of existence languages which are weak and uncultured, and spoken by moribund tribes. Such noble vehicles of thought as the Zulu, the Swahili, and the Hausa, in Africa, will probably never die, but themselves join the army of conquering languages, when they have been sharpened by culture and developed an indigenous literature, and I could, from personal knowledge add a long list of miserable languages, which are coming to their last gasp. English eats up four or five of these poor wretches every year, for the life of men or language can be maintained in this epoch only by giving evidence of their being worthy of existence.

Now pass to the subject of 'Creole Languages.' I do not use the term, but it has been accepted by the scholars of the subject, and to change it would cause confusion. In the year 1882 I wrote the following notice in a literary journal:

'Professor Schuchardt, of the University of Gratz, has undertaken a work of considerable interest and labour. It is notorious that in every part of Asia, Africa, and America, from the contact of European languages with the native languages, new forms of speech are coming into existence which at first sight may be called jargons, but which may possibly be the germs of new languages. At any rate, English and Urdu must have gradually come into existence in some such way. Most conspicuous among the class of degraded language-types is Pidgin-English, which is, however, represented by a literature of its own, and Creolese, which is represented by a translation of a portion of the Bible. But along the West Coast of Africa are found languages composed of English, French, and Portuguese, intermixed with the coast-languages, and Dutch has suffered a frightful degradation on the lips of Hottentots of mixed breeds. Professor Schuchardt invites the co-operation of all who happen to possess any special knowledge of the subject, or who can indicate sources of information. He has already addressed scores of letters to residents in different parts of the world, and it is hoped that he may receive some replies.'

'To anyone who has read the Preface to Lepsius' "Nubische Grammatik," in which that great scholar propounds the magnificent theory, that all the infinite variety of languages spoken by the Negro races north of the Equator, from the Nile to the Atlantic, are the result of the contact of the Hamitic and Bantú races during long periods of years, it is a question of first-rate interest to trace the effect of the Aryan languages of Europe upon the wholly dissimilar elements of such highly cultivated languages as Chinese and the wild flowers of Africa.'

Many years have passed away since, and, as far as I can gather, this branch of the science has not advanced; Professor Schuchardt published his 'Creolische Studien'; he sent me a copy, which I forwarded to the Library of the British Museum. My book on the 'Languages of Africa' was then in the press, and at pages 48, 49 I inserted a few remarks as to this movement; it related to the Future, my work chronicled the Past. Since that date I have been unceasingly occupied in other fields of language and religion, and never found time till now to return to this interesting side of the great subject. I recommend it to some younger scholar. It would be interesting to have a list for each of the five portions of the globe of the new languages coming into existence.

I venture to notice some specimens of this new class of languages :

I. Pidgin-English of China. The late Professor L. of Oxford, remarked in his inaugural address in 1876 : ' Hitherto commercial intercourse with the Chinese has been conducted chiefly by means of compradores and linguists, who have picked up a considerable vocabulary of English words, which they put together *as if they were Chinese, according to their own Chinese idiom*. The capabilities of this strange dialect is great.' It may possibly develop into a language.

II. Yiddish, *alias* Judaish. There are two varieties ; (1) a Spanish dialect, (2) a German dialect. It has been the fashion to call this last, the vernacular of the Jews, a 'jargon,' but it is as much a dialect as any other modern dialect. A careful history of it has lately been published ; there is a considerable literature. There are sub-dialects of this dialect in Russia, Poland, and Galicia. A translation of the Scriptures is preparing in some common form of these three dialects by a competent committee.

In the following (so-called) Creole languages a translation of the Scriptures exist.

III. Mauritius Creole, a dialect of French.

IV. Negro-English.

V. In the Cape Colony there is a settlement of Malays from Asia ; they make use of a dialect called Cape Dutch, which has superseded their hereditary language.

It is clear that we require more information on this branch of the subject. Some years back it was laid down as an impossibility that a mixed language could exist. A mixed word-store was admitted, as it is universal, but it was denied that there could be any mixture in the grammatical structure of a language. This idea is now abandoned. In the two great vernaculars, English and Urdu, there is a mixture both of word-store and structure. In English the original Teutonic structure has become unrecognisable under the heavy burden of Latin intrusion, the Urdu vernacular is choked with Arabic and Persian accretions, and the influence of a third language, the English, is now felt.

III. DECAY AND DEATH.

My attention has been particularly called to the decay and death of languages by a study of the subject of Bible translations prepared or actually existing. In the appendix to my book, "Bible Translations," published 1890, it suggested itself to me to group the languages of the world into six classes :

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Conquering. | 4. Uncertain future. |
| 2. Permanent. | 5. Moribund. |
| 3. Isolated. | 6. Dead. |

The isolation of nations and tribes has ceased ; the necessity for a medium of communication becomes urgent ; education and improved culture is on the side of the Conquering languages, such as the English ; the alternatives are the birth of a mixed language, like Osmanli Turki, Persian, and Urdu, which are infiltrated with alien words and sentences, or the birth of a new language, or the quiet surrender of vitality by the weaker language and the introduction of an alien language as the ordinary vernacular, very much as the Arabic spread over Egypt and Syria and North Africa, to the extinction of pre-existing vernaculars. And in a smaller way we have, in Great Britain and France, an instance of the absolute death of Cornish in the last generation, of Manx in the present, or the approaching extinction of Erse and Gaelic in the next generation, while Welsh and Breton will to all time represent the Celtic family of languages in the second or Permanent class.

It is remarkable to notice how immigrants into a new country change their language. The Negroes, who were deported by violence to America, have entirely lost their hereditary language, and do not even know what that language was, as the slave-dealers collected slaves from regions occupied by the speakers of scores of different languages. Among the Boers of the Transvaal in South Africa are burghers with obviously French names ; these are descendants of French Huguenots, who were expelled from their native country and drifted to the Dutch Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. Among the French colonists of Canada is a colony of families with Scotch names, the descendants of Scotch Protestants who, in the beginning of this century, emigrated from Scotland, and their descendants have developed into French-speaking Roman Catholics.

But in many cases a worse fate awaits the language ; not only do portions of the population change their language, but the entire tribe, under the influence of overpowering circumstances. For instance, the Hebrews returned from Babylon after seventy years' captivity ; but their language had died during their exile, and they returned speaking Aramaic, while another portion of their race spoke Samaritan. Their sacred books had survived but were not intelligible, and the use of targums, or translations, was had recourse to. And there will always be a certain amount of populations who are bilingual. Some of the Negroes on the West Coast of Africa speak English as well as Englishmen, but some have their own strong language, Yáriba, as well, and are not likely to drop it. Some, who had originally weaker languages, drop them, and English becomes their vernacular.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It seems incumbent in treating of language not to confine the remarks to the *sounds* which met the ears of dead generations of men, but to add a few lines on the wonderful machine for perpetuating sounds for the edification of future generations which I shall describe in the general term 'Script.' The process may be summed up as :

(1) Thought conceived in the brain of an individual, but unexpressed vocally.

(2) Articulate sound representing that thought, and conveyed momentarily to the ears of others.

(3) Script in the form of Ideograms, or Alphabetic symbols, representing that sound, and conveyed to the eyes of others in a permanent form.

The first of these three sub-divisions lies outside the subject of this essay.

The second has been discussed under the terms of 'Birth, Life, and Death of Language.'

The third is now under consideration.

Admitting that the power of thought is part of the divine plan in creating man, it may be conceded that the power of transferring that thought by the mechanism of the human organs of the mouth, out of the lips, by the agency of sound, was equally part of the divine plan ; but the fashioning of that sound, after emission from the lips, into language is essentially human.

Still more entirely human, and the product of the ever-developing culture of the human race, is the art of Script. It may be very easy to imagine that primeval man could convey his thought to Script with the same ease as he threw a stone, or plucked an apple from the tree ; but we may fairly assume, as the result of careful study during the nineteenth century, that the art of Script was not a spontaneous gift or faculty, but the slow result of long years of savage life. It appears first as Ideographic, and only after a long series of centuries as Alphabetic. The former may have suggested actual objects, to which they bore rudimentary resemblance ; the latter conveys in its structure no direct meaning. The letters are but symbols of certain sounds, and, if these sounds suggest meaning, it is only because they are the conventional vehicle of thought entirely independent of the Script. The sounds were momentary utterances ; the Script is the permanent vehicle of that thought which led to the combination of the sounds.

We ought to be exceedingly grateful to the unknown persons who conceived and arranged the early form of Script. What should we know of the Past, if such records had not come down to us ? The bowels of the earth during the nine-

teenth century have been revealing to us its hidden treasures. We have by no means attained finality in the received form of Script, and great inconvenience is experienced from the divergence of the practice of different nations and schools of translators. Some African dialects, which differ very little in word-store and structure from each other, appear totally different when transliterated into different forms of the Roman Alphabet.

I have admitted in an earlier portion of this essay, that languages can die, and fall out of use on the lips and pens, of men. So men die also, but some men are not forgotten, and some combinations of words conveying Thoughts, which are immortal, become themselves immortal. The three greatest individualities, that ever in the form of man trod the surface of this earth, Gautama Buddha, Socrates, son of Sophroniskus, and Jesus Christ, Son of Mary, have not left a line of Script, which has come down to us. In each case their followers recorded their utterances, but not always their very words, in the language in which they were spoken. But so long as hearts beat, and the soul of man feels, that it has in it the elements of eternal life, so long the thoughts that breathe and words that burn will outlive the particular language, in which they first came to the ears of contemporaries, will live on, and still have power to charm.

Modern languages are rich in such expressions of Thought, and they still live. Let me turn back to the dead Latin and Greek and quote the

‘Et tu, Brute’ of Julius Cæsar. (‘Was it you, Brutus?’)

‘Diem perdidit’ of Titus. (‘I have lost a day.’)

The dying words of Socrates in the ‘Phædo,’

Μηδὲν ἄγαν, (‘Not too much of anything’) } of the Grecian sages.
γνῶθι σεαυτὸν (‘Know yourself’)

And in the Sanscrit,

‘Ahimsam paraman Dharm.’ “Not to injure anyone is the highest religion.”

And in the Prakrit the following words from the Rock Inscriptions of Asoka, B.C. 400 :

‘The king desires that all unbelievers may everywhere dwell unmolested, as they all wish for moral restraint and purity of disposition, for men are of various purposes and various desires.’

Time would fail to quote from the words of Zoroaster in the dead language of Zend, or from the words of Buddha in the dead language of Pali, or from the words of Confucius in the dead forms of the Chinese Language.

φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα πολλοὶ

ἄνθρωποι φημίζουσι.—*Hesiod.*

These are the remarks of an old man who has studied the subject in the field as well as the library for more than

sixty years, who has had the advantages of a working knowledge of eight European languages (Greek, Latin, English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese), and eight Asiatic languages (Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindu, Bengali, and Panjābi), in different degrees and for the purpose of reading in all cases, writing in some, and speaking in others. If anything appears to be omitted from this essay, it is omitted intentionally, as not belonging to the plan of the writer. He is acquainted with all that has been written by great scholars, but reserves his own judgment, as one who has, if not so deep an insight, still a wider range of vision than is possessed by many.

He has published volumes compiled from original sources on the languages of the East Indies, Africa, Oceania, the Caucasus Region, and the Turki branch of the Ural-Altaic family. He was preparing a sketch of the languages of America, when he was obliged to lay it aside from the imperative necessity of turning his attention to the religions of the world. He estimates the number of languages and dialects, mutually unintelligible but actually made use of at this epoch, at little less than two thousand. And should the name of any language be alluded to, he can by reflection, or a brief reference to his workshop, say where that language is spoken, to which family or group it belongs, and where someone who is more or less acquainted with this language can be found. His object has been to assist the translation and diffusion of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in every region of the world. Wonderful as has been the progress in this nineteenth century, it will be greater in the twentieth. But if there is one subject which shares his heart with that of the languages of the world, it is that of the religions of the world, and his communication to the International Oriental Congress at Geneva was on the 'Antient Religious Conceptions of the World,' and at the International Oriental Congress at Paris on the 'Modern Religious Conceptions of the World,' as, owing to his advanced age, he was not equal to the excitement of attending these two Congresses, of both of which he was a member.

These lines are written, not in fear of, but in sympathy with, those awful *savans*, or *Gelehrte*, who are now in their cradles, but who in the course of the twentieth century will smile good-humouredly at the erroneous views of the writer of this essay, as he does at the ignorance of the eighteenth century. The law of progress and development must prevail. At any rate, the men of the twentieth century will stand on a solid wall of knowledge built up, brick by brick, by the previous century, while the men of the nineteenth had nothing of any degree of solidity to stand upon at all.

LONDON, July 13, 1899.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

ART. III.—NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.

(PART III.)

FOR a few years before and after Wergeland's death in 1845, there was a period of comparative repose in Norway. The nation had secured its liberty, and political passions were calmed. The improved condition of public affairs had its counterpart in literature, which flourished in a novel and characteristic form. The discovery of Norwegian popular poesy had given it its particular stamp. A treasure, that had hitherto been ignored, of fairy tales (*Eventyr*), ballads and legends was now brought to light.

In the year 1840 Jørgen Moe had published "A Collection of Songs, Popular Ballads and Refrains," but it contained little that was essentially popular poetry. Wergeland seemed uncertain of its existence, though Welhaven, who was aware of it, had written a short time before:—

"Far in the *field* our art and poesy
At the land's heart they live and still they dream,
There have we caught of their light wing the gleam
In legend of the vale and melody!"

Yet he was not fully sensible of their national importance.

When the first numbers of "Norwegian Fairy Tales" appeared, in 1842, a change came o'er the spirit of the dream. "The land of the thousand homes" was again enchanted, and again a fairy realm; "the little people" once more danced merrily at eve in the forest glade; the gnome burrowed in the mountain, and in the murmur of the river was heard the song of the watersprite. The "Fairy Tales" were the work of two authors Jørgen Moe and Asbjørnson, whose collaboration had the most fertilizing effect on the poesy of their country. They immediately attained great popularity, and soon numerous imitators were ransacking the land to discover similar treasures. Landstad, the favourite psalmist of Norway, followed in the footsteps of the collaborators, and effected for the people's ballads what they had done for their fairies. National costumes were carefully noted and described, the architecture of the ancient wooden buildings was studied, and the annals, language and literature were investigated by the historians Keyser and P. A. Munch. A philological genius, Ivar Dasen, mastered the Norwegian dialects, and published most valuable works, relating to their grammar and vocabulary. He even invented a new language, of which these dialects were the base, and his invention, which in part responded to a national demand, has met with such permanent favour that

some of the most popular authors still employ it as their literary medium, while it is also taught in schools.

Artists were seized with enthusiasm for all that was national. Gude painted his glorious landscapes of *fjord* and *fjeld*, while Tidemand traced in his famous frescoes the Norwegian peasant's life from his cradle to his grave. "All at once literature was full of the scent of pine trees, the summer sun, the murmur of rivers, the tinkling of herd bells, and the notes of the Alp horn!"*

In the preceding decade the general topic of conversation concerned political rights. Now it preferred æsthetics, and the peasant's "poetic childishness" replaced his "intellectual minority." National poesy was the watchword "that was now to be protected against the influence of devastating enlightenment, and to be restored to the country in an ennobled artistic form.†"

Welhaven was the most accomplished poet of the new movement. He was its metrical artist, and his genius has saved from oblivion many a beautiful ballad and enhanced its charm. But Moe, who first had raised the veil that concealed the poesy of folk-lore, was its true lyrical voice. His style is popular, clear, and without abstractions. He loves to dwell on the little, and especially on the unpretentious, as in the "Women of the North," whom he gracefully compares to the lilly of the valley. "Leaftime" is perhaps the most characteristic of his poems: it extols the child-like views of the country people, and disparages the opinions of the educated classes. In "Truls and Inger," the former, an aged peasant, is dying, and his devoted wife is soothing his last moments. The pathetic scene and the naive faith of the peasantry are recounted with the tenderness and simplicity that are characteristic of Moe.

At the death-bed her faith is her only mainstay:—

"The drops she cannot count,
The powder not shake out,
What drink 'gainst death avails
From God she learnt about;—
Wells from the fount of life,
With words of light it flows
From Him who left the grave
And who to Heaven rose!"

In his youth he had sung nature for her own sake; but in the latter part of his life he sought, through her aid, to awake religious thoughts and feeling. He indulged increasingly in symbolism, and natural objects were transformed in his eyes in-

* Henry Joeger: *Illustrated History of Norwegian Literature*.

† Henry Joeger: *Norwegian Authors*.

to wonders, that addressed him in their own language. The oak talked of constancy, the birch of humility, the song-thrush trilled and the pine tree sighed its lesson. In his preface to the "Children's Fairy Tales" he wrote: "In them there is nothing lifeless. All live, speak and act; and such is really the case with creation round us; the eyes of children can often distinguish life where the dull glance of their elders can perceive nothing, and they hear voices where their parents think there is complete silence. The moral that the fairy tales preach is, that all turns out well for the good and intelligent, and ill with the foolish and bad, while often compassion for animals, care for plants and flowers, are the cause of success in life.

Asbjørnsen has obtained a reputation which equals that of Moe, his collaborator, whom he surpassed in the field of research. He had a profound knowledge of the peasantry, which he had gained in the course of long wanderings through his native land. He made it a point of honour to relate his fairy tales almost in the words of the old people who related them as they sat round the fire. When he began to write, he conformed to the views of the early romantic authors, and in his first fairy tales he attempted to give them a symbolical interpretation, while the descriptions of nature are curtailed. In the second collection of these tales, he chiefly dwelt on the life of the people. In pictures of the high fjeld he has described hunters and outfarms. In "Plank Carters" he has attained his highest excellence as a depicter of popular life. It had quite a realistic character, and was an innovation on the part of the author.

The most popular poet of the new movement was for a time undoubtedly Andreas Munch; but he adhered too closely to Continental romanticism to be intensely national,—feudalism and mediæval chivalry never flourished on Norwegian soil. He commenced as the poet of freedom, and wrote "My Country" and "The New Norway," where he sung the rejuvenated nation, in opposition to the panegyrists of the *temporis acti*. He was the chief sentimentalist of the time, and his tender and harmonious verse, the highest inspiration of which was religion, is full of melancholy. When he sings of nature, this is always apparent; as, for instance, when he praises the beauty of a Norwegian summer, "that saddened him because summer had no home in the North, and was without a stable throne with a baldachin of flowers." His extreme sentimentality was especially evident in "Grief and Consolation," a poem that appeared in 1855, and through which he attained the zenith of his fame. It bemoans the death of an amiable wife a few years after her marriage, of his father, and lastly of his only child. In musical numbers he has told his sorrow, and from the depth of despair he rose through faith to resignation.

"Grief and Consolation" passed through many editions and immediately became the favourite poem of the fair sex. As a dramatist Munch was less successful than as a lyrical poet; though he wrote "An Evening at Giske," which critics consider the best play written in Norway before the appearance of Björnson and Ibsen's saga dramas. While "Kings' Qualities" was being acted at Christiania, "Duk Skule," a tragedy by Munch, was represented. They both referred to the same historical events, but the comparison was so much in favour of the first-named play, which was written by Ibsen, that the second quite lost ground in public appreciation.

A new literary era dawned in Norway about the year 1857, when Björnson began to write: "Fairy romanticism" and mediæval ballad-poesy lost much of their popularity, and made way for the old saga literature, the study of which was revived. Björnson introduced the saga manner in narrative, and Ibsen in the drama. Literary style became pithy and brief, and the complicated period gave place to the short sentence that was characteristic of Soemund and Sturlason. Foreign words were in part discarded for provincial; and the influence of foreign literature declined.

At this juncture there was published a novel (in 1859) "The Governor's Daughters," which differed widely from the current fiction, and excited the greatest interest. It came from the pen of Camilla Collet, the gifted sister of the poet Wergeland. It had a contemporary social tendency, and was the first Norwegian book that attacked a modern reality problem. It was a powerful indictment of the conditions that then made for marriage. The main thought was that it should not be concluded through the choice of either man or woman, but that woman's love should decide. It was not so much the rights of the sex that Camilla Collet championed—for the first at least—but greater equality in its relations with the opposite sex. Her criticism of marriages *de convenance* was excellent, and had a most beneficial influence on Norwegian parents, who gradually ceased to dispose of their daughters hands at their good pleasure.

"The Governor's Daughters" prompted the improvement that has since taken place in the legal and social status of the women of Norway. Laws have been passed in their defence, and young ladies can not only bestow their hand as they think fit, but even choose their own career in life. That novel was the precursor of the intense social dramas in which Ibsen has called in question the current views of the relations of the sexes in marriage. It was beyond question Camilla Collet's greatest work. Its plot was faulty, but its style was nervous and forcible. It still remains one of the most popular romances in Norwegian literature.

At this period the writings of a young peasant, Asmund Vinje, began to attract attention. He was a true son of the soil, and in a great measure self-taught. He supported himself in his youth by tending cattle, by teaching, and by occasional contributions to the press. Finally he saved sufficient money to study at the University of Christiania. In that capital he collaborated with Ibsen, and founded a journal that enthusiastically championed the people's cause and attacked the *bourgeoisie*, following the example of the men of '48, in which year it appeared. It had, however, only a brief period of existence, and at its conclusion Vinje set up a newspaper for himself. It was called "Dalen" (Dale-Man) and was remarkable for the bold peasant humour of the founder, its sole contributor, publisher, and editor, and also from the circumstance that it was chiefly written in the '*Landsmaal*' (Anglice, neology) that Ivar Aasen had invented.

But Vinje had far greater merit as a poet than as a journalist. His principal poetic work, "The Great Boy," appeared in 1866. It has a peculiar interest owing to the fact that the subject was taken from his native parish in Telemarken, where the ancient customs of the people are the best preserved. It contains one of the most beautiful love poems in the literature. It has the touching softness that belongs sometimes to the rough sons of the soil when they are enamoured.

In "Old Mother" Vinje pays a poetic tribute of affection to his parent: "Thou driedst oft the tear upon my cheek, and kissedst me for thy boy, and breathedst into my soul my triumphant song . . . ; 'twas thou, that gavest me my tender heart, and therefore must I love thee wherere, I wander on my way, however wild it be!"

Norwegian patriotism often found its strongest expression in the national drama, but, as a rule, the Norwegian stage was monopolized by Danish actors, who represented their country's plays. In the autumn of 1855 some theatrical criticisms appeared in one of the leading journals of the capital, attacking the administration that put such a slight upon the nation. They were much commented on, and won great favour with "Young Norway," of which the youthful critic, who was none other than Bjønstjerne Bjørnson, soon became the leader. His first important work was a play entitled "Between the Battles" in which he appears to have depicted his own character and his own struggles under an historical veil. He had an ardent poetic temperament, which, amid the romantic scenery of Romsdalen, where he passed his youth, received that intensely national impress which is so conspicuous in his career.

When he was just twenty-five years of age, in 1857, there

appeared an idyllic romance of peasant life that was the work of his pen. "Synnove Soebakken" immediately won popular favour. It was so artistic, so forcible, and yet so simple, and above all so new. "The epoch-making in Björnson's first imaginative works was partly stylistic, partly psychological. He had discovered a feature in the character of the Norwegian people that had not before been specially pointed out, and that feature was its reticence."* We have already referred to the pithy saga style which he introduced into prose romances. As an example of both these features of Björnson, we may cite the following short scene: Arne, a peasant boy, who is the hero of the story, to which he gives its title, meets Korut from Opland. The latter sings a touching little ballad about Ingrid, who had neither silver nor gold, but only "a little hood of coloured wool, that mother once had sown for her." As it died away on the hill side, Arne went up to Korut, and asked "Have you a mother?" "No!" was the reply. "Have you a father?" "No, no father." "Is it long since they died?" "Yes, long ago!" "You hav'nt many to care for you?" "No, not here!" "But away at home?" "No, nor there either."

"Hav'nt you any one to care for you?"

"No, I have not!"

Björnson was untiring in his efforts to establish a really national stage, and with that object became successively director of the theatre at Bergen, and newspaper editor at Christiania. In 1858 he wrote *Halte-Hulda*, the first of the group of plays that have been named "the Norwegian Historical Drama." It treats of love, hatred and revenge, and it lays especial emphasis on the lights and shadows of passion.

"King Snorre" appeared in 1861, and has peculiar interest, apart from its merits as a drama, as it reveals Björnson's political faith: "'Tis not conceivable that what is right, innate and deep, beyond all time,—and right is that all should be equal in a State where all compete on equal terms,—is not conceivable that right should be wrong for a space of time!"

In the tragedy "Segurd Slembe" he seems to plead the natural right of the born leader of men to direct them. It is very powerfully written, and takes a view of that extraordinary adventurer "Segurd Slembe" which differs from the historian's. It contains a pathetic monologue, in which Andhild, the maiden who loves Segurd, confesses the secret of her heart before the images of the saints that stand round the chapel, where she has sought peace. She rejects all the stern ones, and will pray to St. Olaf alone, the national saint

* Henry Joeger: Illustrated History of Norwegian Literature.

and hero-king, who once had had a human frailty, and had clasped to his arms "Astrid with the golden hair." "You must know," she cried, "what lovers suffer, how they are led into many a keen temptation which they cannot resist, and that they forget you, the saints and all that exists, to atone afterwards with tears throughout their life."

"The Newly Married," a play that appeared in 1865, was the first in which Björnson treated a contemporary subject, and was one of the first of the problem plays that abound in Norwegian literature at the present time. In 1875 he wrote "Bankruptcy," in which money was introduced into a Norwegian drama. In "The King" he sought to demonstrate the futility of constitutional monarchs. In "The New System" the author championed the cause of truth, which finally triumphs. "Leonardo" advocated tolerance in society. In "A Glove" which appeared in 1883, he analysed the different moral standards by which men and women are judged, and, like Jamilla Collet, he required the former to be not less pure than the latter. This play had a highly moralizing tendency, and served to counteract the Bohemian movement, in which free love was not condemned, that shortly afterwards became prominent through the publication of a notorious book, entitled* "From Bohemian Christiania."

It has been Björnson's aim to show us the limits of our powers in modern society in a series of plays which commenced with the first part of "Beyond Our Powers." He sought to demonstrate in it that Christianity was beyond them, for the requirements of that religion were not complied with, nor were its ideals attained. He lowers the miracles of faith to the phenomena of sickness. He seems to inculcate the view that we should rather study and cure nerve-illnesses, than lay so much stress on supernaturalism. The main personage of the play, Stang, is the type of a devoted pastor, and possesses a faith that can compare with that of the apostles. He works miracles and is even able to raise his wife from her death-bed, but this prodigy brings on a nerve-crisis which occasions the death of both the spouses. In the second part of "Beyond Our Power" he has described a great strike of workmen and a terrible catastrophe, and shown that the antagonism of interests could effect nothing; only hope and faith were able to inaugurate a better state of society.

As a lyrical poet Björnson is the first of his land. He has written its national anthem, "We love that land," which unites to real simplicity a great depth of feeling, while it glances back on the saga period of Norway with keen

* It was suppressed by the Government and its author was imprisoned.

imaginative power. "There is a land near eternal snows," "I will guard my Country," and "The Norwegian Sailor" are all of the same patriotic character.

In the latter part of his career, Björnson has also taken an active part in politics. He has travelled through Norway, and attended innumerable meetings in order to inflame her countrymen against the present union with Sweden—he would modify it profoundly or dissolve it. At times he fills the press with his complaints, denouncing the Swedish Government, to which he attributes the most aggressive designs against the independence of Norway. He has had recourse to an influential Russian journal, to warn the great power of the North against the danger of Swedish ambition, to which he also attributes the intention of reconquering Finland, and he has expressed his profound faith in the peaceful mission of the empire of the Czars. It is evident that Björnson will not be remembered by posterity as a politician; but his fame as the poetic voice of Norway will be immortal.

Among living authors there is no name with which the world is more familiar than with that of Henry Ibsen. As his dramas have been translated into all European languages, and have been discussed by the most accomplished critics, it would be superfluous, in so brief a survey of Norwegian literature, to do more than notice his career and his most important works.

- He was born at Ski, a little sea-port town of Southern Norway, in 1828, and was the son of a trader, who was of Danish extraction. As on his mother's side also he had Danish forefathers, he is scarcely Norwegian by descent. While he was still a child, his family was reduced from prosperity to comparative poverty, and this change seems to have cast a shadow over his youth. His temperament was strange and diffident. His deep sensitiveness developed into a morbidness that inclined him to pessimism. Early in life he was apprenticed to an apothecary at Grimstad, where he satirized his neighbours, and wrote sentimental poems, of which, indeed, only a few have been preserved. The events of 1848—he had just attained his twentieth year at that date—excited him greatly, and were applauded by him as an enthusiastic friend of liberty. It was under these circumstances that he wrote "Catiline" whose genesis Ibsen's biographer has thus explained: "The impression of the evils of the world, of the people's enthusiastic attempt at insurrection and of their bloody defeat, the thought of the hostile footing on which he lived himself, ambitious dreams of the future, the despondency into which he fell as to the possibility of their realization, faith and doubt, worship of genius and scorn of men, all streamed in wild fermentation through

that youthful drama, which has one of history's most notorious characters for its hero." The world was rotten; it needed renewal from its foundations, but the accessories were too little and the talented renovator was not great, not good, not noble enough, so he must fall with his task unaccomplished.* It was apparent that, while still a youth, Ibsen regarded the world as so corrupt that the only remedy was a great social revolution; but he beheld it with such sad eyes that he could scarcely distinguish its brighter sides.

In 1850 he went to Christiania in order to qualify for a university degree, and wrote a short play, which, though of no permanent value, was accepted at the theatre, where *Catiline* had been rejected. It excited but little attention, although its author came into notice as a talented young man. He then became part editor of a periodical and contributed several poems to its pages. But his literary labours did not replenish his purse, and he was even reduced to sell the greater part of the small edition of "*Catiline*" as waste paper to a hawker. He interested himself greatly in the labour movement, which, despite its European character at that period, was, however, comparatively insignificant in Norway. He had intercourse with its leaders, and, owing to the nature of his contributions to a workman's newspaper, was for a while in danger of being arrested by the police. He had no faith in liberal politicians, and castigated them in a little play that he wrote at this period and that was entitled "*Norma, or a Politician's Love*." Henceforth he regarded with disdain all political parties.

When a national theatre was inaugurated at Bergen in the following year, Ibsen was appointed its dramaturgist and collaborator with a salary of about £60 a year, but at the same time he was granted a smaller sum with which to complete his education as a scene constructor abroad. After visiting Copenhagen and Dresden in this intent, and studying the history of the drama theoretically, he returned to Bergen, and began his real career as a dramatic author. In "*St. Hans's Evening*" he showed himself an innovator, when he turned into ridicule the "fairy romanticism" that had so great a vogue in Scandinavia. He wrote successively three historical dramas, "*Lady Inger of Oestraal*," "*The Banquet at Solhaug*" and "*Olaf Liljekrans*." The last met with the greatest success, and was represented at the theatre of the capital. But it was handled severely by the press, whose critics, with the exception of Björnson, who discerned the genius of its author, accused him of plagiarising a play of the Danish poet, Henry Hertz.

After Ibsen had been appointed director of Christiania's

theatre, he published, in 1838, "Warriors in Helgeland." had originally written it in a ballad metre, but subsequently transformed it into prose, based on the style of Saga, after Björnson had set him the example in his first romance. Ibsen had studied previously Saga literature, and its influence had been apparent in "The Banquet at Solhaug" as regards the motives, and some of the characters, though not in the style. "Warriors in Helgeland" was his first great work;—his preceding dramas were scarcely more than experiments. It is based on a part of the Volsunge Saga, where the love of Segurd and Gaunar for Brynhild is related.

His greatest historical drama that treated of a Scandinavian subject was "Kings' Qualities," which appeared in 1864. Its main idea was that in the new times kingly thoughts triumph, while it was useless to serve up the old again. "In the struggle between the solution of the life's task and its opposing circumstances lies the tragic conflict in which Ibsen engaged in his previous works. His youthful poesy turned upon the contradiction between qualities and inclination, between will and possibility, between humanity and the individual's tragedy at the same time. In 'Kings' Qualities' these contradictions are carried to their extreme consequences. While Skjale only imagined he had the ruler's call, he failed, for he doubted himself; Haakon triumphed, for he was thorough and really believed in his mission."

It can be deduced that Ibsen referred to the experience of his own soul in this play. It is clear that he doubted his own poetic vocation at this time, and that his self-criticism reduced him to despair. In the "Picture Gallery" he wrote:—

"What in the world of laughter merits more the slight
Than Elegies about a lyric dearth;
And Poesy, that perished at its birth,
Sob of a heart forlorn of all but grief and night?"

He found it impossible to retain for long his post as director of the theatre at Christiania. He came in conflict with a Danish colleague, whose chief object apparently was to arrest the development of a national stage in Norway, in the interest of the play-writers and actors of Denmark, who had the greater vogue. Ibsen joined with Björnson in founding a society that was called by the same name as the famous Norwegian club of the preceding century at Copenhagen, viz. "The Norwegian Society." But when it participated in politics, Ibsen withdrew.

"The Comedy of Love" was his first great satire on modern institutions. It represented a series of every-day men and women whom he had observed himself. Ibsen examines them

* Henry Jøger.

from the point of view of love, and, like Diogenes with his lantern, seeks a man without success. All seems dead, "a grief disconsolate." The people are "like scorched stems a forest fire had left amid the waste." He denounces hasty marriages, which are in general moral bankruptcies. The best mainstay of marriage is, in his eyes, not love nor money, but something better, "the still stream warm from the heart of affectionate esteem, that can honour the chosen companion for life." He extols "the gentle spirit that heals the wound, the manly strength that bends to bear, the balance that endures through years, the arm that is the prop and sure support of peace;" these all conduce to happiness in marriage.

This comedy excited considerable animadversion, especially among the clergy, a member of whom had been the target of Ibsen's satire. He made many enemies, and was left in the lurch by society. His purse was scanty, and the world began to consider him an unsuccessful genius. At the same time he was much discontented with his countrymen: he was a warm partisan of the close union of the Scandinavian lands, and he denounced the lukewarm help given by the youth of Norway to their Danish "brothers in distress." After so many meetings, processions, speeches, and toasts in favour of a united Scandinavia, not only did the Government of the peninsula refuse to interfere when the pinch came, but there were few Norwegian volunteers who were ready to risk their lives in the plains of Schleswig against the German aggressor.

Disillusioned by the events of 1864, and displeased by the hostile attitude of Christiania society, he left Norway the following year, it was then supposed with the intention never to return.

It was at Rome, where he took up his residence, that he wrote the first play that attained popularity throughout the North, and established his reputation. "Brand" painted with great poetical power, in sombre colours, the sadder side of Norwegian life on the rocky coast. The hero of the poem is a pastor who, in his disinterested efforts to infuse life into religion, becomes a fanatic, and finally perishes under an avalanche, after vainly attempting to lead his flock in a crusade. The only glimpse of sunlight in this sorrowful drama is derived from Agnes, the pastor's devoted wife. It was a powerful indictment of official Christianity. Brand was "the incarnation of the qualities that Ibsen missed in the social condition of Norway," which seemed to him, wrapped in a self-complacent slumber. In "Per Gynt," his next play, which was received with still greater favour, the hero incarnated the qualities that had taken their place. He was the type of lax-

ness, halfness, and want of character : Ibsen had found a new cause for the social defects of the time, and that was its unreality, which had had recourse to an imaginary world of dreams. Romanticism is typified by Per Gynt and is brought to judgment as the cause of corruption in society.

"The Youthful Alliance" introduced a new era in Norwegian literature, as well as in the theatrical history of the country. From its appearance (in 1869) can be dated the great development of modern play writing. It was nearly the first realistic play in Norway, and the first in which a natural modern dialogue was employed. It satirized the phrase-making of politicians, their want of earnestness and of personality ; and it spared neither of the political parties.

The changed position of affairs occasioned by the war of 1870 still further disillusionised Ibsen. The old system of Government was confirmed, and instead of an era of "personality," a state citizenship became the main-stay of society. Unable to find a foothold in the present time, he turned his attention to the past, and sought to discover a key to the enigma of the world in the period when the classic heathen civilization was dissolved. The result was "The Emperor and Galilean," which appeared in 1873. In this play the mystic Maximus seems to express Ibsen's own views of the course of the world's history. "There are three kingdoms," said Maximus ; "first the kingdom which is founded on the tree of knowledge ; then the one that is founded on the cross ; the third is the great kingdom of mystery that must be founded both on the tree of knowledge and the cross." It is the last conception of the future that Ibsen has evidently taken as his ideal of society.

His subsequent plays have unsparingly denounced the insidious social flaws that impede its realization. He has drawn back the curtain of propriety, and has exposed the decrepit column and worm-eaten beam ; and he has called for their removal, even though the whole edifice should fall on our heads. He began with a strong attack against the hypocrisies of society, and, in *The Pillars of Society*, finally induced the respected leader of a typical Norwegian society to denounce himself as a hypocrite, after he had perpetrated numerous villainies of which the law could not be cognizant. In "The Doll's Home" he assailed the current views about marriage, and showed how the union between the heroine, Nora, and her husband, Helmer, was not a valid one, owing to the latter's incapacity to understand what such a union really was, and he emphasized this view through Nora's desertion of her husband. In the "Ghosts" he treated marriage from the point of view of the responsibility of the parents as regards

four children. The question in this play was whether it had been right for Helen Avling, the wife, to live with her husband. Their child was the unlucky victim of the father's weaknesses; his parents had done him the wrong of presenting him with a wretched existence of which he himself would be quit. In "The Public Enemy" he denounced the hypocrisy of the whole of society in a more emphatic manner than before or afterwards. The great feature of the play was the speech of its hero, Dr. Stockman, a daring experiment, which no dramatic author had yet attempted; it had an intensely revolutionary tendency: ". . . the majority have the power,—the more the pity—but they have not the right. I have the right and the small minority that includes only those who have acquired the new genuine truths."

In "Wild Duck," Ibsen's next play, a great change is observable in his views of life. He had become at once more pessimist and more indulgent, and seemed to argue that men cannot bear the truth, and so it is best to leave them to their lies. Hjalmas, the father of Hedwig, the heroine of the play, does not enjoy the complete confidence of his wife, because the latter has a secret which she conceals from him. When he was in danger of succumbing to the deception that had been practised on him, his great friend, Gregers Werle, undertakes to enlighten him. But he has not taken into account the wretched want of character of Hjalmas, who typifies every-day humanity. Instead of promoting happiness, Gregers makes mischief; and all his efforts only serve to disturb the domestic peace, and to induce a scene that ends with the death of little Hedwig, a scene that is perhaps the most pathetic Ibsen has written.

In his three following dramas we find three feminine types, each of which represents a different characteristic of their native land: Rebecca in "Rosmerholm" is from Nordland, and her life reflects the wild nature of her early home. In "The Lady from the Sea," Ellida is from the romantic West coast. Hedda Gabler is from the capital, a product of society life and *convenance*. In "Rosmerholm" love prevails; in "Lady from the Sea," woman's emancipation triumphs, through a husband's indulgence, over a natural affinity. In Hedda Gabler there is no solution, but a plea for a discriminating altruism.

In the play to which "Architect Solness" gives the title, that person shows himself to be a real child of this century of competition. He eschews no means where it is a question of his own advancement. He is a genuine type of egotist. He is able to will, but is none the less a divided personality, a new example of the halfness of the age. He is burdened with

a conscience that he regrets is not more buoyant. But it does not restrain him from crime; it does not free him from chagrin. In order to have an opportunity of adding to his professional reputation, he burns down his wife's inherited home, with a view to replacing it by a construction after his own design; and, as the result of this deed, he has to mourn the death of his children, who are burnt with the house, while his wife receives so severe a shock that her health is ruined. In his aspiration he is prompted by Hilde Wrangel, the most positive feminine figure Ibsen has drawn. She admires Solness, and remembers with delight how he stood on the church tower that he had just completed, many years previously, before he had abandoned ecclesiastical architecture. She begs him to repeat that performance, and impels him to climb to the pinnacle of his last new building, which was to take the place of the house he had burnt. But he loses his balance and falls dead from her feet. He perished through his own temerity, for he was no longer able to climb so high. His career and fate apparently treat symbolically the materialism of the present time.

In the last few decades, perhaps, no author has influenced the world so deeply as Ibsen. He has called in question the current notions of social morality, against which he has placed an immense note of interrogation. A pessimist as regards the present order of things, he is an idealist for the future; and the tendency of his work is to prepare for a new era in which both justice and morality will be considered from another point of view. He has denounced, in tones that all must hear, the social evils which the veil of decorum has concealed. He does not appear to believe in the regeneration of humanity, and latterly he seems to regard its frailty with compassion. He is the most skilful and boldest dramatist of the age, and at the same time a master of style, which is a model for all Norwegian writers.

The period of Norwegian literature that was introduced by the revival of Saga style can boast of a novelist who is not less popular in his native land than Dickens was in England. Jonas Lie is always in touch with the national life; he faithfully reflects its intimacy; discusses its vexed questions, and, above all, instructs it. His rise to fame was as sudden as his popularity is great. A short novel, which appeared in 1878, took the public by storm. It was called "The Visionary." In a style that is remarkable for its delicacy and sensibility, it traced the career of a young man, David Holst, who was credited with the gift of second sight, while his overstrained mind bordered on insanity. He fell in love with a beautiful and intelligent girl, who, by her elevating influence on his character, was

to save him from an apparently inevitable fate. In this touching story love is opposed to atavism. Daniel Holst's doctor represents modern society in his view of the question. He holds that his patient has an hereditary tendency to madness, and must, therefore, refrain from marriage—not only for his own sake, but for posterity. Susanna, the object of David's passion, was, however, of another opinion, and thought that she must cling to him precisely because of his tendency; she maintained that love was able to cure him, and Jonas Lie admits that she was right as regards the special condition of her lover, apart from other considerations. Yet in his last novel, "Dyre Rein," one of his most interesting productions, the author seems to take a sterner view of the matter, and to pronounce against the marriage of the victim of atavism. The hero of that tale, who has an hereditary taint of madness, dies by his own hand to save posterity from woe.

There were features in "The Visionary" that were original and epoch-making; the author had discovered a new refuge for poesy, and captured for romanticism its last province: it was also the last work of an essentially romantic stamp in the literature. He takes a novel view of fancy, which, he thinks, in its visionary form, does not differ greatly from a malady. In "Susanna" he has created a new feminine figure, which he has subsequently modified or varied, but not abandoned. She is the type of a wife who is superior to her husband by her strength of will and power to act, yet at the same time has a gentle and womanly nature that guides and supports him. She takes the initiative, because she is the stronger. She is one of the most popular characters in Norwegian fiction.

Jonas Lie was originally a lawyer who was gifted with a poetical temperament, had a strong literary taste, and a deep love of nature. He was involved in a commercial crisis, and in consequence constrained to abandon his profession. He had recourse to journalism for a livelihood, and wrote "The Visionary" with a view to paying his debts, which he was not legally compelled to do, at the age of thirty-seven. His first novel was, however, so full of promise that the Norwegian Parliament—often a generous patron of literary talent—granted him a small stipend. In fulfilment of the condition of its bestowal, he visited Nordland and the sea coast of Norway, and published an interesting account of his voyage. He followed this up with "The Three Masts: Future," in which he described with great reality and truth Nordland's life and scenery.

Like all his novels, it contains a lesson, which in this case turned on industry and perseverance. The "Pictures from

Norway' appeared in 1872, and included some delightful and characteristic short stories, such as "Sondmør's Eight-oared Boat," which is now classical. In 1874 he published "The Pilot and his Wife," which was perhaps the first sea novel in the literature. In it he has recounted life on the wave with fidelity, and at the same time discussed a problem connected with marriage. He has advanced a view that is similar to Björnson and Ibsen's, that unconditional devotion and intimacy are necessary to happiness in matrimony and that nothing must be concealed between the spouses.

Jonas Lie has treated of life in Norway and its seas. He is the novelist of its thousand homes, of which he has a profound knowledge. He has told us of the magic—so famous in old time—of the Finns, and has given us a glimpse of their weird nature. He has created with great imaginative power a hundred types of character, among which his womanly figures fascinate. He has striven to avoid exaggeration, and to depict reality. Following the trend of the time, he has adapted his pen to its needs. He has a large heart, a deep and buoyant nature, and a high ideal. His loftiest aspiration is the true progress and improvement of his countrymen. With the help of a literary style that is chaste and effective, he has raised himself to the first place among Norwegian novelists. In all Scandinavia, it is said, there is no author so popular and so widely read. His fame has reached the world beyond, and his principal works have been translated into the leading languages of Europe.

From the beginning of the last decade, a new and brilliant star was visible in the heaven of literary Norway. But after its close only a few weak rays were discernible, where it dazzled before; its sudden decline caused almost as much regret as its appearance had excited astonishment.

In the autumn of 1880, a novel written by a debutant appeared, and immediately attained popularity. It described the life and society of a seaport town that was recognized under the disguise of a feigned name, as Stavanger. The sufferings of the poor were contrasted with the easy-going life of the magnates; there was a touching portrait of a little seamstress who was the victim of a voluptuary. The chapter describing her burial, and that of her betrayer's father, is the most brilliant one of the book. It emphasizes bitterly the difference between the rich and poor even in the tomb. Like Ibsen in "The Popular Enemy," he exposes the corrupt ingredients of a small society with which the author was thoroughly acquainted.

Henry Jøeger considers "Garmand and Worse" to be the

first modern Norwegian novel, and the one that most influenced its contemporaries. Its tendency was somewhat evolutionary, its tone sarcastic, and it was written in a language that, in Norwegian literature, has not been surpassed for its lightness and grace. Its author was Alexander Kjel-land, who had almost reached his thirtieth year before he began to write. He became at once the favourite author and the darling of society. He was both rich and handsome, in addition to his great talents, and a long career was anticipated for him.

His next work, "Workpeople," appeared in the following year. It was a mordant satire against the official classes of Christiania, who are accused of laziness, nonsense and negligence. The story turns on a poor peasant's futile efforts to obtain legal justice. It contains some excellent pictures of the social life of Christiania, though they are somewhat marred by the author's exaggerated satire.

Kjelland's creative powers were so great that his best novels followed each other at an interval of a few months. "Else" appeared in the same year as "Workpeople." It runs upon his favorite theme—the contrast between poverty and hunger on one side, and prosperity and narrow-mindedness on the other. A few months afterwards "Skipper Worse" was published. It is generally considered the author's best novel. It treats of the pietism of the Western districts of Norway, that has had its centre in Kjelland's native place, Stavanger, since the death of Hauge, the great Norwegian revivalist, who restored religion in the land. The author, who was versed in all the local life of the town, has sketched with great thoroughness the devotionalists who almost exclusively found their adherents in the lower classes. The main personage of the tale is "Skipper Worse," a handsome old tar, who had seen his best years. After a long voyage he "lays up," and, for want of an occupation, falls in love with a handsome young woman, belonging to the devotionalist coterie. She did not really care for him, as she had already bestowed her affections on a young peasant who was an enthusiastic lay-preacher. Her mother, whose faith had a practical tendency, had constrained her to marry the rich old sailor. His young wife initiates him into the secrets of the saints among the revivalists and Moravian-brothers who frequent her mother's house. But in their circle he is like a fish out of water, suffers torture, and perishes slowly without adding to the number of the elect. There is a striking death-bed scene, where his mother-in-law menaces him with the fate of the damned, and terrifies him with the evil one, until, at last, forgetting his actual surroundings, he imagines himself once more a happy sailor, just making port after a long voyage.

It was Kjelland's fate to occasion an important Parliamentary crisis: A petition had been presented to the "Storting" (Parliament) with a view to his receiving for literary merit a pension which Björnson, Ibsen and Jonas Lie had been previously granted. But, on the ground that Kjelland's works "were at all events supposed to stand in contradiction with the prevailing moral and religious views of the nation," it was refused, after an acrimonious debate. The general elections that followed in 1885 were greatly influenced by the refusal of the pension, and the moderate party, who had opposed its grant, were completely defeated, and made way for the Radicals, who had approved of it; the latter thus came to power for the first time, and they have since controlled the destinies of the country. Kjelland did not, however, finally receive the coveted honour, but he was appointed Mayor of his native town. Since the commencement of the present decade he has written little or nothing; it is said that he has abandoned the career of letters for reasons of health. His works will last as long as the literature, and should be perused by all who can study it, and the society of the latter part of this century in Norway; but due allowance should be made for the author's satiric tendency.

Of all Norwegian authors at the present time, there is none more racy of the soil than Arne Garborg. He is a peasant, who, by his own unassisted efforts, has become one of the first literary men of his country. The religious views of his father were so narrow that he refused to allow his son to attend the village school, lest he should be corrupted. Hence Arne Garborg is in a great measure self-taught. He began his career as a journalist, and was employed to carry on a propaganda in favour of a moderate Christian policy, and at the same time to attack the modern direction of thought from the point of view of faith. In 1877, when he was approaching his thirtieth year, he founded a newspaper "Fedrahimen" ("Father's Home"). It was written in the neology invented by Ivar Dasen, and advocated a national purification of linguistic and literary culture. Its views were liberal, for Garborg had abandoned the conservatism of his youth; and though he has always remained profoundly religious, he had now become a free-thinker, after having previously championed the most rigid orthodoxy. His first peasant novel, "Free thinkers," appeared in 1873. Its hero was one of them, and its moral was against intolerance. It was more real than Björnson's idyllic romances, but lacked their charm.

Garborg's most typical and interesting work was "Peasant Students," which is a remarkable study of a young peasant's mind

and his student life at Christiania. The author holds that there are two kinds of Norwegians in Norway; the countryman and the townsman, and it is so far true, that the majority of the leading inhabitants of the towns are of Danish, German or Dutch origin, while the peasantry is indigenous. His hero, a peasant, is a renegade from his class. He had observed in his boyhood the difference between the toiling rustic and the official classes, including the clergy. He determined, cost what it might, to belong to the latter. They had, he thought, a pleasant time on earth, and Heaven was easier of access for them afterwards. He awakens the interest of an eccentric parson, who educates him, and inculcates ideals and national aspirations. The contributions of some religious men enable him to prepare for the university. His father ruins himself to further his son's career, and, infected with the latter's example, apes his betters, and indulges in strong drink to do so more effectually. The hero is neither intellectual nor intelligent, though he is not without shrewdness. He becomes a poverty-stricken wretch, and a sycophant who lives on his comrades at the university. He forgets all his ideal aspirations and comes to the conclusion that money is the one thing necessary. Without real religious belief, he prepares to take orders as a means of livelihood. He is unfaithful to the girl he secretly loves and forgets her to marry a wealthy, plain-featured woman, who is far older than himself. Garborg takes the opportunity offered by his hero's career to condemn the university system of Norway, which is chiefly directed to the education of a number of officials after the German pattern, instead of adapting them to a labour State that should resemble Switzerland. The moral of the story is that it would be much better for the peasant to continue to plough his land, while he improves his mind, than to add to the useless supernumeraries of the towns;—at the present time, agriculture is carried on under great difficulties through the dearth of labourers.

A crowd of lesser writers have lately risen to distinction in Norway; they include Hans Aanruds, whose humouristic sketches of the peasant life of Eastern Norway are unsurpassed of their kind; Hans Kinck, who has also written admirable novels about the peasantry—in the Western districts; Knut Hansum, a keen observer of the national civilization, "the creator of the Christiania romance;" Thomas Kragh, whose novels are remarkable for their light and agreeable style, and their freedom from the fetters of convention; William Kragh, the brother of the preceding author, a decadent poet, whose artistic muse enjoyed for a time great popularity; Heiberg, a writer of amusing comedies, in which

ART. IV.—A VISIT TO UMARKOT, &c.

I HAD long been anxious to visit Umarkot and to see the exact spot where the Emperor Akbar was born ; but I found the place more difficult of access than I had expected. I tried in the first instance to reach it from the Rajputana side, but could not find anybody who knew the route. At last I arrived at it from the west, or Haidarabad, side by travelling down the east side of the Indus from Lahore to Rahoki Junction. The difficulty is that Umarkot is not on any line of railway. Though the North-Western Railway has a branch called the Hyderabad-Umarkot railway, it only goes as yet as far as Shadipalli, and this is thirty-four miles short of Umarkot. Indeed, according to the natives, the distance is nineteen *kos*, or thirty-eight miles. The branch line, too, is an exceedingly slow one ; there is only one train a day each way, and it takes five hours to get from Haidarabad to Shadipalli—a distance of only fifty-five miles ! I performed the journey from Shadipalli to Umarkot by bullock-cart, and this, with the necessary halts, occupied twenty-four hours.

The irrigation canals must, I think, have greatly changed the aspect of this part of Sind. Formerly much of the land must have been waste, or desert ; but now the road passes through wide plains of rice-cultivation, and one might have almost thought himself back again in Eastern Bengal. It was evening when we reached Umarkot and began to toil through the sands which surround the Fort on one side. I had been told that there was a Dāk Bungalow, and, of course, there was not one. However, the kindness of the District Superintendent of Police, who fortunately happened to be at Umarkot on tour, and of the "Mukhtarkar," or Sub-divisional Officer, relieved me of all difficulty. I slept in a Deputy Collector's bungalow within the ample enclosure of the Fort, and congratulated myself on being within the ancient walls which had protected the infant Akbar. Next morning, however, I discovered that this was all a mistake, and that, according to local tradition at all events, Akbar was not born within the Fort, but out in the open country, in a spot nearly a mile N.-N.-W. of the walls. No doubt, this was where his father's little force was encamped, and it is likely enough that the Hindu Rāna of Umarkot would object to the presence of a number of undisciplined Muhammadan Moguls inside his Fort, and I have, therefore, no difficulty in accepting the tradition.

The Umarkot Jail is within the Fort-walls, and the Jailer, a member of an old Sind family, kindly took me out to the

site pointed out as Akbar's birth-place. A small cupola, erected in 1898 by Syed Maher Shah of Khajrari, Taluqa Umarkōt, marks the spot, and an inscription on it in English and Sindī records that "this stone was erected in honour of Emperor Akbar the First, born here in 1542, reigned 49 years from 1556-1605." Then follow the names of the Deputy Commissioner for the time being, and of others. The monument stands on a rising ground surrounded by a railing, and is approached by a broad grass-path. This is not the desert-side of Umarkōt, and there was a garden and other cultivation and trees all round about. Close by was a cotton-field in full pod. Outside the cupola, but on the same mound or terrace, there is a stone shaped like a milestone, and made of Haidarabad limestone, which records in Sindī that this was Akbar's birth-place. It wrongly gives the date as 963 A. H., for Akbar was born in 949, or 1542 A. D., and 963 A. H. is the date of his accession. The error was pointed out some years ago by Kavi Rai Syámāl Das of Udaipur in a paper on Akbar's birthday read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1886, but it has not been corrected. This stone was, I was told, put up by Mr. Tyrwhitt, who was Deputy Commissioner of Umarkōt some forty years ago. It is, therefore, not a contemporary or ancient record; but I was told that there had been previously a terrace or pukka platform marking the spot. I would suggest that, as the stone is only some forty years old, there would be no desecration in having the date corrected.

The story told to me by the villagers was that, when Humayun and his wife, Hamīda Bānū, were flying from the pursuit by Humayun's brothers (they really were fleeing from Mal Deo, the Rajah of Jodhpur, who was in collusion with Sher Shah), they approached Umarkōt and came upon a holy man who had his seat near what is now the Resala or Police Lines. He asked Humayun who he was, etc., and when Humayun told him and also spoke of the condition of his wife, who was near her confinement, the hermit bade Hamīda Bānū to go and rest at a spot to the northward, which he pointed out, and he prophesied that she would there give birth to a son who would one day become Emperor of all India. Hamīda obeyed his voice, and, having gone to the spot, gave birth to Akbar. It was marked by the presence of two bushes, one, an *āk*, (the *Calotropis gigantea* or milkbush), and the other a *bēr*, i.e. the jujube tree (*Zizphus jujuba*) and so the child received the name of Ak-ber! Such is the Sindian's explanation of the Emperor's Arabic name, which he supports by pointing to the numerous milkbushes still growing in the neighbourhood.

Umarkōt, with its high, old walls of baked earth, is a very

striking place, for it stands just on the borders of the desert, and might be called the Parting of the Ways. Few things are more impressive than the view from the top of the central bastion. Turn one way and you will see luscious greenery, leafy orchards, and verdant rice-fields; then turn to the east, and there is nothing but arid, desert sand. It recalls to the mind the description of the invasion of locusts by the prophet Joel : "The land is as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."

There are several old guns on this bastion, and on one is an inscription in Persian stating that it was the work of Mustapha Beg. Nearer the muzzle is another inscription, also in Persian, stating that the gun came from the workshop of Niyáz (?) Khuda Khan Bahadur, servant of (?) Shahmat Jang, and dated 1160 A. H. On another bastion, beside one of the gates, the spot is pointed out where the last Rajah of Umarkōt leapt his horse from the battlement on the approach of the English and so made his escape. If he did, he deserved to be a comrade in arms of the hero of Kingsley's ballad of *Alte Nahr*, and of the solitary Mameluke who escaped from Cairo. They also show a mark high up on the castle-wall which they say was made by the Rajah's horse when the Rajah was exercising him in the road below! On the massive, and old-looking wooden gate there is a Persian inscription by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

Inside the fort-walls and below the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow there is a fine garden and orchard with a large well, which is said to yield the best water in Umarkōt. Embosomed among the fruit-trees there is a stone cupola, similar in shape to, but larger and handsomer than that over Akbar's birth-place, which was erected in memory of Herbert Edward Watson, Deputy Commissioner of Thar and Parkar, who died at Umarkōt in February 1894. We are reminded of the monument erected at Bhagalpur over a hundred years ago to Augustus Cleveland, for the inscription says that the building was erected by the subordinate officers and the Zamindars of Thar and Parkar in testimony of Mr. Watson's good qualities and in token of their affection for him. Apparently Mr. Watson fell a victim to the unhealthiness of Umarkōt, for the place is very feverish, and European Officers are unable to stay there through out the year. There is an old tree in this garden, which is said to have sprung from the root of a still more ancient one on which Márúí, the heroine of Umarkōt, used to swing herself when a child.

This mention of Márúí leads to a consideration of the proper mode of spelling the name Umarkōt. According to my informant it is properly spelt with an 'ain, عمر کوت, and owes

its derivation to one Umar, a Muhammadan of Delhi, who fell in love with a daughter of the desert, hence called Márúí, and for her sake came and built Umarkōt. The story of the love of Umar and Márúí is the subject, I believe, of several Sind ballads, and is told in various ways. Táhir Nasyání, one of the historians of Sind, who flourished about the end of the 16th century, wrote a poem about it, presumably in Persian, to which he gave the name of Náz u Niyáz (coquetry and coaxing). Táhir also tells the story at considerable length in his *Tárikh Táhiri*, or History of Sind, of which there is a good copy in the Library of the Nawab of Rampur. The passage is translated in Elliot's *Historians of India* I 260, and will also be found at page 132 of the Rampore MS. According to the story as told by Táhir, Márúí's conduct and adventures resemble those of the heroine of Manzoni's charming story of *Promessi Sposi*, and he mentions Akbar's indignation when the tale was mistold by a poet introduced to his Court, and how it had to be correctly given by Mirzá Jání Beg, the last independent ruler of Sind. Márúí, Táhir tells us, was a beautiful desert maiden who lived near Umarkōt, where, indeed, the site of her house is still pointed out. She had been betrothed to a man whom Elliot and Burton call Phog, but who according to Professor Dowson, is named Nabakuk in the Persian MS., while the Rampore MS. gives the more likely name of Bhúnkar, or Bhúngar. Her parents, however, found a better match for her and gave her to somebody else. The disappointed Phog, or Bhúngar, went to Umar Sumra who was the prince of Sind, and who, according to Táhir, was a Hindu, and told him that his own suit was hopeless, but that such a beauty as Márúí deserved a place in the royal harem. At once Umar disguised himself, and, setting off on a swift camel, arrived at Márúí's house and abducted her. But Márúí was virtuous and refused to submit to his wishes, and Umar, like Rudolph in the Italian story, was struck by her innocence and refrained from dishonouring her. He kept her for a year in his palace, hoping that she would consent to marry him; but, when he found her inflexible he sent her back to her husband. The latter acted like Ram towards Sita and refused to believe in her virtue. The news of her ill-treatment reached Umar, and in his indignation he gathered an army and marched against Márúí's village, resolved to punish her husband and her relatives. But Márúí was as wise as she was good and beautiful. She boldly presented herself before Umar and pointed out to him that he, as her ravisher, was the person really to blame, and that it was unjust that he, after having committed one great wrong, should commit another by devastating her country. Umar recognised the justice of her rebuke, and, recalling his

my, and summoning Márúí's husband to his presence, he prepared to swear to Márúí's innocence and to attest it by undergoing the ordeal by fire. Again Márúí rose to the occasion and declared that, if any one must go through the ordeal, it was she herself. She accordingly passed through fire, and, like Sita, emerged unscathed. Umar, not to be outdone in generosity, followed her example and with a similar result. This double miracle removed the husband's doubts; he took back his wife, and everything ended happily. According to a note in Elliot, one Zamiri has also written a poem on this subject, and the story has also been told by Captain Burton in his book on Sind. Elliot points out that, though Umar is described by Táhir as a Hindu, yet he spells the name with an 'ain, and he observes that Umarkôt is generally written with an 'ain. In the Rampore MS., however, Umarkôt is spelt with an aliph,* and Táhir does not refer to its being named after Umar Súmrá. On the contrary, he speaks of Márúí's home as being situated near the fort of Umarkôt, as if the name had existed before her time.

I had thought of crossing the desert to Bamer and so getting on to the Rajputana railway, but I was told that the thing was nearly impossible, owing to the famine and the want of water. The distance from the railway station of Bamer was, I was informed, 120 miles, and even if I could get camels and supplies, the journey would occupy about a week. So I reluctantly turned back and retraced my steps to Shadipalli and Lahore. I made the return-journey to Shadipalli by camel, and hired two, one for myself, and another for my baggage, for Rs. 4 or Re. 1-10 less than the cost of the bullock-cart. We started at 4-45 P.M. and travelled till midnight, chiefly by the light of the moon. Near Sufi we had a picturesque crossing of a river by moonlight. After twelve we halted till daybreak in the village of Akhri till daybreak, and eventually reached Shadipalli at 8-20 A.M. in abundance of time for the train.

ABUL FAZL'S GRAVE.

The mention of Akbar's birth-place naturally leads to a notice of his friend and secretary's grave, which I visited not long afterwards. It does not seem to be generally known that Abul Fazl's body, or at least his headless trunk, is buried in the village of Antri, or Antari, about fifteen miles S.-S.-E. of the town of Gwalior. The fact is not recorded in General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports* and I am

* This points to the name being derived from Amar, immortal, like Amritsar, and on the whole this seems to be the most probable origin of the name.

indebted for the information to the Darbar-i* Akbar, or Akbar's Court, a valuable work on Akbar and his grandees recently published in Urdu at Lahore.

Like Umarkot, Antri is rather a difficult place to get at. It is a station on the Indian Midland Railway, but the passenger trains do not stop there, and the goods train, which has some third class carriages and does stop at Antri, is often behind its time. The station, too, is about two miles beyond the village, and on the way to Jhansi. I went from Gwalior on an ekka, hoping in that way to get there before evening; but unfortunately the pony was inefficient, or had already been tired out, for we took five hours to go, and the whole of the night to return. The Naib Tahsildar of the village, M. Asghar Ali Khan kindly showed me Abul Fazl's tomb, which most of the villagers seemed unacquainted with. It is a small and unadorned building. A low quadrangular flat-roofed room, reminding one by its shape of the pictures of the Kaaba, stands on a terrace, and on its floor is a pent-house shaped tomb of bricks and mortar. There is no inscription and no ornamentation of any kind. The building stands in the middle of the village and was surrounded by a garden of pot herbs. It had altogether a neglected and desolate look, and one felt surprised that Abul Fazl's friend and master, the Emperor Akbar, had not erected something more sumptuous, or that the Maharajah of Gwalior had not taken more care of the place. But Akbar did not long survive his friend, and his last years were clouded by distress. Moti Khan, an old servant of the *tahsil*, told me that there used to be an inscription in Arabic and Persian, and that he had seen it, but that the stone was removed by a Sahib twenty or twenty-five years ago. I have as yet been unable to learn who the Sahib was, or what has become of the inscription. The Darbar-i-Akbar, p. 488, speaks of Abul Fazl's being fortunate in his resting-place in that the villagers of Antri light up the tomb with thousands of lamps every Thursday. I regret, however, to say that this is a mistake. The villagers hardly know who Abul Fazl, or Fazlu, as they call him, was; they place no lamps at his tomb, and the only person who at all looks after the grave is a wandering beggar.

The place where Abul Fazl was killed does not seem to be exactly known. Moti Khan said he had heard that he had been killed just after coming out from Dattia, which is a railway station beyond Antri and nearer Jhansi. But it would appear from De L'Isle's account, quoted in Blochmann's life of Abul Fazl,

* Lahore, 1898, at the Rafah Am Press of Maulvi Saiyid Mumtaz Ali. The author of the book is Shams-al Ulama Maulvi Mahommed Husain Sahib Azad who has unfortunately become deranged.

fixed to his translation of the Ain Akbari, that the murder place much nearer Gwalior than Dattia and even than Antri. We are told, too, that when the news of Bir Singh's preparations was brought to Abul Fazl's men, they suggested to him that he should fall back upon Antri, which was six miles off, and where there were imperial troops. Abul Fazl was then on his way to Agra, and probably therefore he would not take the direct road to Gwalior, but would leave it and Antri on the right. According to the account in Blochmann's biography, p. 15, the murder was committed on Friday, Rabi'-al-awal, 1011 A. H. = 12 August 1602—, at a distance of about half a kos from Sarai Ber (?) and about six kos from Narwar. The whole country in the neighbourhood of Antri is hilly and jungly, and fit for ambushades. Even now it is haunted by tigers and panthers, and not long ago when a syce was leading his master's horse by night along the high road between Antri and Gwalior, a tiger, or panther, came out of the wood and put his teeth into the horse's haunch, but did no further harm. Probably Abul Fazl's companions returned to Antri, bringing the headless corpse with them, for Raja Bir Singh sent the head to Jehangir at Allahabad. Who erected the tomb, we do not know; but it may have been Abul Fazl's nephew, Abdur Rahaman. One would not like to be a remover of bones, but still if some fortunate chance laid the grave bare, it would be interesting to know whether the skeleton was headless.

Antri is a very old village, and was once of much greater importance than it now is. It is full of old pukka buildings, and the Naib Tahsildars sent me an inscription on a mosque there which shows that it was erected in 938 A. H. (1531), i.e., in the second year of Humáyún's reign. The Persian is as follows:—

این مسجد به عهد محمد همایون بادشاه مغازی بتاریخ غری
جمادی الاول سنه ۹۳۸ هجری تعمیر کرد *

The derivation of the name Antri seems unknown, but probably it alludes to its position within ravines. According to Moti Khan the name is properly Abtari.

ANARKALI'S TOMB.

This is in Lahore, and is also connected with Akbar's memory, but in a much more tragic manner than the tomb at Antri.

According to local tradition, Anarkali, i.e., pomegranate seed, thus recalling the charming Gulnare of the Arabian Nights, and the Balaustion of Browning, was the beautiful wife or concubine of Akbar. One day he was sitting, arranging

his turban by a mirror which he held in his hand, and Anarkali was standing beside him. Suddenly Jehangir, or Selim, he then was, entered the room and smiled on Anarkali. The hapless girl returned the greeting, and Akbar, who saw in his mirror what passed between the two, rose up in his wrath and commanded that Anarkali should be buried alive. This was done, and all that her princely lover could do was to erect afterwards a beautiful tomb to her memory, and to inscribe on it his own name and an affecting Persian couplet. The story is told by Mr. Eastwick in Murray's Handbook for the Punjab with the difference that Akbar is said to have seen the signal between the two lovers by means of the mirrors on the wall of the Shish Mahal, or Hall of Mirrors. Mr. Eastwick says that Anarkali's proper name was Sharifa-un-nissa Nadarah Begam. There is also an account of the tragedy in Syed Muhammed Latif's history of Lahore, and in Thorburn and Kipling's Lahore (Lahore 1876) p. 88. It is a story that for Akbar's sake one would fain not believe; but I fear that it is too true. The tradition certainly receives support from a passage in Terry's Voyage, p. 408, of the edition of 1777, where it is stated that Akbar thought of taking the strong step of disinheriting his eldest son, Selim, "upon high and just displeasure for climbing up unto the bed of Anarkali, his father's most beloved wife (which name signified the kernel of a pomegranate) and for other base actions of his." Terry was Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, and was in India only a few years after Akbar's death.* At p. 387 he tells us of Jehangir's having put one of his own wives to death, under even more horrible circumstances, close to where the English ambassador was residing.

Anarkali's tomb is a lofty and spacious dome, and gives its name to the civil station of Lahore. Inside is a beautiful marble sarcophagus, with the words *Majnun Selim*, i.e., the enraptured Selim, carved upon it, and also the following Persian couplet:—

آه گر من باز بینم روئے یار خویش را
تا قیامت شکر گویم کردگار خویش را†

"Ah! If I could but once more see the face of my sweet heart I should continue to thank my God up to the day of judgment."

* Akbar died in 1605, and Terry speaks of being in India in 1618. The date of the erection of Anarkali's tomb does not appear to be known but probably was 1600.

† I am indebted for this copy to Mr. Atkins, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore.

unfortunately the tombstone has been thrust away from its original position under the dome and placed in a corner which is generally so dark that the carved lettering, which, according to Mr. Eastwick, surpasses everything else of the kind in India, can hardly be seen. When Mr. Eastwick visited the tomb, some twenty-three years ago, he found that it had been removed from its original site and thrust into a closet, where it lay, covered with dust and the impurities of bats. Things are not much improved now. When I visited it, I did not see any bats, but the sarcophagus was brown with dust, and heaps of waste paper were lying about. Though not exactly in a closet, it was in a side-portion of the room and close to the wall. In one respect its condition is worse than that which existed at Mr. Eastwick's time. The building was then used as a church, so that the surroundings were in harmony with the tomb. But now it has become a record-room, and the part in which the tombstone is is probably used by the daftaris for keeping their strings and their wrapping-papers. As the tombstone is no longer *in situ* and has no remains underneath it, would it not be better to remove it to the Lahore Museum, where the carved letterings could be seen to advantage, and where poor people could admire it without having to fee a chaukidar?

The building over the tomb has been so long desecrated, that it is probably not advisable to make any change. The desecration was not begun by the English, for the building was given by Ranjit Singh to his French officers as a residence; but the English improved upon their original, for they moved the sarcophagus from under the dome and dug up poor Anarkali's bones à la Kitchener. The building was large enough for a human residence; but, when it came to be dedicated to a God who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, the servants felt bound to disturb Anarkali's dearly-bought resting place and to thrust her bones under a turret.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. V.—THE COLLAPSE OF SPAIN.

LORD SALISBURY'S apt, but humiliating, description of Spain as a "dying kingdom" savours of the journalist, rather than of the diplomat; nevertheless, since it has been uttered, there is no reason why the most sincere well-wisher of the Spanish nation should shrink from taking note of the utterance. There need be nothing unfriendly in asking ourselves what amount of justification it may have in actual facts, and whether any causes of decay can be found in past history.

Now, no one can deny that, little more than three hundred years ago, the Spanish Empire was on a par with the greatest of world-dominions, alike in power and extent. When Philip II succeeded his father, in 1556, he ruled Spain gradually extending his power over the whole Peninsula, from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, and from Lisbon to Alicante. His sway was acknowledged in Sicily and the greater part of Italy; Holland and Belgium were his, if he could hold them, as also was Franche Comté; the whole of North America, except small French and English colonies; the whole of South America after 1580; the Philippine islands and many places in Africa; such an Empire, as had not been traversed by the Roman eagle in his widest flight. By the end of the next century the Spanish navies had been ruined by the English and the Dutch; Portugal and her colonies had been lost; Naples and Holland had revolted; Franche Comté had gravitated to France. In the beginning of the 18th Century Aragon and Catalonia asserted the right to side with Austria in the war of Succession; Gibraltar was wrest from the kingdom; and by the Treaty of Utrecht Spain had to surrender all claim to Italy and Flanders. Less than fifty years later the temporary capture of Havana and Manila showed beyond all doubt the impotence of Spain against Great Britain; in 1807 began the terrible struggle against Napoleon in which our country nobly lavished blood and treasure on the Spanish side, without winning any gratitude from the Government or the people. During the reign of the restored Ferdinand—1814-33—all the American colonies and dependencies were lost, save Cuba and Porto Rico, which continued to be held and misgoverned. And now these, too, are gone, and the Philippines are as good as gone with them; and nothing is left of the mighty Empire of the sixteenth century except a few useless islets and a set of homely provinces wasted and disaffected.

History shows that the irremediable decay of great States has usually been due in the outset to the faults and follies of

single statesman. What occurred in Egypt, Nineveh, and Babylon was repeated in less conspicuous parts of the old world; and the fact forms a noticeable illustration of the dangers of hereditary monarchy, where a single ruler can, by weakness or negligence, undo the labours of his energetic forefathers.

One of the most obvious parallels to the decline of Spain is to be seen in the case of the Roman Empire, which Gibbon shows to have begun about the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, when, to casual observers, it must have seemed as vast in power as in extent. From the Rhine to the Euphrates the known world was enjoying peace and prosperity under the strong rule of a great soldier; and any little trouble in the Northern part of our remote Island must have appeared but as a passing cloud upon an otherwise clear sky. The character of the Emperor Severus, and some of his conditions, were not unlike those presented by the later Emperor Charles V, in Spanish history. Each was by birth a stranger to the central country of his mighty dominions, Charles being a Fleming and Severus an African. Each was wise, stern, and tenacious; each at last wearied of power and confessed the vanity of human wishes in their most complete gratification: the abdication of the later Sovereign being anticipated by the complaints of his prototype. "*Omnia fui, et nihil expedit*" (*I have been everything, and found all vain*) was one of his bitter cries. "My empire will come to nothing if my successors are evil," was another. His successors were his sons, the elder of whom was the infamous Bassianus, known to posterity by the nickname "Caracalla," from a Gaulish mantle that he was wont to affect. And, as his father had presented a forecast of Charles V, so did some part of this monster's career resemble that of Charles's son, Philip II, of Spain. Like in being brought up under the eye of a wise and warlike father, Philip and Caracalla were both destitute of manly vigour. Each killed a brother, the modern tyrant adding the murder of a son. There were, indeed, differences of character between the murderous maniac of the Palatine and the dull plodder of the Escorial; but each watched the cradle of nascent Ruin and each baptised the infant in the blood of his unhappy subjects.

Whether the decadence of Spain is common to all the Latin races on the shores of the Mediterranean is as great a question as whether that decadence is ultimate and beyond control. One thing at least is sure; namely, that the long duration of Latin civilisation has never indicated the possession of stability. The rough adolescence of the old Roman Republic gave little tranquillity and little happiness to the community.

Of the Augustan age we can only see anything through the medium of poetry—and courtly poetry. Tacitus and Juvenal are at hand to show the ways of the time that succeeded Augustus. Under the Antonines a certain amount of welfare doubtless, existed ; but the whole period from Nerva to Commodus was less than three generations. What followed we know ; the Empire was a scene of civil war, conspiracy, military insubordination ; and every species of villainy and vice flourished, until all was swept away by successive waves of the Barbarian deluge. Since the reconstruction of European society the state of Italy, France, and Spain has been little better ; the student will vainly search the records of those countries for a century of welfare or common order.

In using the convenient phrase " Latin races," one does not mean to imply that the people of the North-West Mediterranean are of the blood of Latium. Even in Italy, the Teutonic element was so largely infused by invasions of Goths and Lombards as to be, in all probability, predominant. In France all that is noble in the national character is due to the Belgian race known as " Salian Franks," with the possible exception of the Celts of Brittany, immigrants from Cornwall or Wales. Reverting to the case of Spain, we know that Peninsula to be the home of many distinct races ; the Iberians of the Basque provinces, the Vandals of Andalusia, the Visigoths of Leon and Castile, and the Gallo-Romans of Aragon and Northern Catalonia. The point to be remarked is, that all these races became fused into the three nations of France, Italy, and Spain—as we know them to-day—by the adoption of Roman law, language, and creed.

That is what constitutes the common character and destiny of the " Latin races ;" and it is that to which consideration is due in endeavouring to apprehend the case of Spain. That the higher classes of Spaniards are dignified, courteous, and romantic, and the general population patient, temperate, and brave, none who know anything of the past and present of the Peninsula will deny. But it is equally true that, since the middle of the sixteenth century, all these qualities have been, so to speak, wasted in perennial failure. Philip, in his hour of glory, was unable to cope with the Dutch, or to conquer the English, two petty powers who did not even combine to oppose him ; and who—had they combined—had not the tenth-part of his material resources. And this debility—which has gone on ever since—is entirely due to the character and conduct of the plodding bigot, Philip the Second, son of the Flemish Emperor Charles.

Spain, up to his time, had been the nurse of heroes. After the fall of Rome she had become the object of African cupidity

For seven centuries her disunited provinces were filled with slaughter by Arabs and Moors, fiercely fought by the Christians with varying fortune. At length the Crescent definitely waned; the Moslems were slowly pushed into the South West; in the same year Granada was captured, and Columbus landed in America. The union of the various provinces ensued, and the sixteenth century witnessed the vast, though unenduring, greatness of the Peninsular dominion, with a yearly revenue of 280 millions. The line of Charles V came to an end in his miserable namesake who died in 1700; but before that the famous Spanish Infantry had been beaten by the French and Jamaica taken by the English, and the revenue had sunk 700 per cent.

Spanish prestige was now dissolved, and the country lay helpless, a prey to Austrian and French ambitions. Early in the nineteenth century all the Colonies broke into successful revolt, with the exception of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines: and these have been in more or less ungovernable rebellion for many years. To such a pass have bigotry, pride, and sloth brought one of the finest countries in the world.

To all human judgment Spain has sunk to rise no more.

ART. VI.—HISTORY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

THE Church Missionary Society, which has recently been celebrating its Centenary, claims to be the most successful as well as the most extensive of all the British Missions labouring in foreign parts. It was founded on the 12th April 1799—sixteen clergymen and nine laymen in England having constituted themselves into the Church Mission Society; and its membership was extended to everyone within the Anglican Communion. At first the Society encountered great difficulties; aid was not forthcoming; and indifference and apathy were met with in every direction. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury accorded the society very luke-warm support; and after the first year of its existence he simply declared that he would look on its proceedings "with candour." Moreover, no English candidates were forthcoming as missionaries to foreign regions. The Committee of the Society, however, persevered amidst these adverse circumstances; and after a while two German missionaries offered themselves for foreign service. Indeed, after the first ten years of its existence, the Society succeeded in despatching only five missionaries to the West Coast of Africa, and all of these were Germans. Two Englishmen about this time went out to New Zealand as missionaries under the Society's protection; but they were settlers in the Colony, and supported themselves, and simply worked as lay-helpers in the Mission cause. The first Englishman who was regularly trained as a missionary was Thomas Norton, who came to India with the first batch of Evangelisers in 1816. In 1813 the East India Company was prevailed upon to remove the restrictions on missionaries entering India; and in 1816, as just stated, a batch of four missionaries was sent to Madras, and one of these was a German, named Rhenius, who has left a reputation as a missionary in South India.

In 1816 the Church Missionary Society extended its operations to the Native State of Travancore in the extreme South of India; and in 1820 two of its missionaries were sent to the adjoining British Indian District of Tinnevely. The work of the Society in Travancore and Tinnevely has been attended with such conspicuous success that special notice of its labours here will not be amiss. In the Native State of Travancore the then British Resident, Colonel Munro, invited the Society's Missionaries to establish themselves; and they thus began their work under his powerful protection.

At first the Society worked in conjunction with the Syrian

Christian Church, which had existed on the West Coast of India from the earliest periods of the Christian Era. In 1837 (*viz.*, on the accession of her Majesty the Queen) the Church Missionary Society decided on acting independently; nevertheless, friendly relations have been maintained with its ancient ally; and, when possible, the Society still co-operates with it. The Head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society in Travancore are situated at Cotta-yam, which is a fairly large town; and a College is now maintained there by the Mission and is regarded as one of the prominent Educational Institutions of South India. The Mission work in Travancore progressed to such an extent that in 1879 it was found necessary to consecrate a special Missionary Bishop for Travancore and the neighbouring Principality of Cochin; and the Rev. J. M. Speechly was the first Prelate chosen for the newly-created Missionary Diocese, which had hitherto been under the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Madras. In 1885 two Archdeacons were appointed for the new Diocese. One of these was a European, named the Rev. J. Caley; while the other was a Native Pastor, the Rev. K. Koshi. At present the Church Missionary Society has numerous stations throughout Travancore and Cochin, and maintains many schools and dispensaries. The local progress of the Society may be gauged by a comparison of the following statistics:—

At the time of the accession of Her Majesty this portion of the Mission supported 5 European Missionaries, 63 Native Agents, 54 Schools and 1,800 scholars; while there were no Native Clergymen and hardly any converts. Fifty years later there were 8 European Missionaries, 15 Native Clergymen, 148 Agents and nearly 20,000 converts; while there were 131 schools with about 4,000 scholars. At present there are twelve European Clergymen (in addition to the Missionary Bishop), 27 Native Pastors, 466 lay Agents, and 36,000 converts; while considerably over 9,000 pupils attend the Mission Schools.

In Tinnevely the progress of the Church Missionary Society has been still more marked. As already stated, two Missionaries were despatched to this region in 1820; in 1826 a large Mission Church was erected at the Military station of Palamcottah, and operations were undertaken with much zeal. Very little progress, however, was made during the commencing years; and about a decade after the accession of Her Majesty, when the Zillah Judge of Tinnevely was called upon to furnish a return of Christians employed in his Court, he could find only one Christian, who occupied the exalted office of Court sweeper. Almost identical conditions obtained

among the Collector's Subordinates; and in fact in every Department of the District. By the time, however, of the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, matters were very different; there were upwards of 56,000 Native Christians in Tinnevely; there were over 15,000 pupils (of whom 3,200 were girls) attending the local Mission Schools; and at present the number of Native Christians has increased, and there are 51 Native Clergymen, the European missionaries being employed as Superintendents and as Heads of the Educational Institutions. In 1877 a Missionary Bishop was appointed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Tinnevely; and recently the Church Mission Society has subscribed to a common Bishopric for both these bodies. The Missionary Diocese, according to the latest arrangements, has been placed directly under the Metropolitan of India.

In the meanwhile the Church Missionary Society had extended its activity to other parts of the world; by 1819 no fewer than 55 Missionaries had been despatched to the West Coast of Africa, to New Zealand, Constantinople, Calcutta and Madras; and by this time the annual income of the Society had attained the respectable figure of £25,000. By 1823 the Bombay Presidency had been included in the Society's operations, and most of the large towns in Bengal and the North-West Provinces were occupied; and during the decade 1813-23 ninety missionaries had been sent abroad. Matters progressed favourably now; the Anglican Church, which at first did not exhibit much enthusiasm for the welfare of the Society, became actively interested in its doings; and in 1841 two Archbishops and several Bishops of the established Church joined the Church Missionary Society.

In the same year the Telugu Mission was started in India, and has proved a great success among the Natives of the northern Circars in the Madras Presidency. Bishop Corrie, of Madras, was the first to advocate the starting of a Mission among the Telugu population of his diocese; but he died in 1836, and the project was temporarily abandoned. The matter, however, was soon taken up by others, and subscriptions to the extent of £2,000 were raised for the purpose of opening a Missionary School at Masulipatam. In 1841 the Reverend F. Noble, of Cambridge University, and Reverend H. W. Fry, of Oxford, came out to India in connection with this special Telugu Mission. Mr. Noble took up the educational work connected with the Mission, and founded the Noble College, which is now a well-known Educational Institution in South India. Mr. Fry, on the other hand, devoted himself to purely missionary labour, and, after doing excellent work, died in 1848. Others, however,

took up his task and good results have been achieved," and in 1860 a Mission to the Kois, a semi-civilised tribe of Gonds, was set on foot. When the Telugu Mission was first started, it had only three Schools with 126 scholars, but, by the time of the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, it was maintaining 133 Educational institutions of various sorts, with over 3,000 scholars. There were then 8,000 converts, and there were 6 Native Clergymen with 179 Native Agents. There are now considerably over 14,000 converts, while 14 European and 18 Native Clergymen are labouring in these regions.

About the time of the institution of this Telugu Mission, two Missionary Agents were sent to accompany an exploring expedition to the Niger. No results were obtained, but the Niger region was thus eventually opened up for Mission labour. One of the two Missionary Agents just alluded to was a young Negro, named Samuel Crowther. He had been rescued as a boy from slavery and had been educated by the Church Missionary Society at Sierra Leone, and was a Catechist at the time. Owing to his intelligent services during the Niger Expedition, he was sent to England, and, after undergoing the requisite training, was ordained in 1843 by the Bishop of London. He subsequently became the first Bishop of the Niger, and is well remembered for his excellent work. One day he met his mother by accident in the streets of Abeokuta having about thirty years previously been forcibly taken from her by slave-raiders. The old woman became one of the first converts to Christianity and was duly baptised. The whole of this region has now been subjected to Missionary influence—this particular branch of the Mission being known as the Yoruba Mission.

In 1844 Missionary labour was extended to the East Coast of Africa, and a station was established at Mombassa. In the same year several Missionaries went to China, and one of these, about five years subsequently, was made the first Bishop of Victoria.

In 1849 the Church Missionary Society celebrated its Jubilee, after a successful career of half a century. By this time there were a hundred thousand Christian converts under its auspices in Asia, Africa, America and Australasia; while it maintained 120 Mission Stations and 350 Missionaries in foreign parts.

After this great progress was made and during the next ten years Missions were established in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, in Oudh and in the country of the Santals. The Society, moreover, extended its operations to China, Palestine, Constantinople, the island of Mauritius, certain parts of the Northern Pacific and the Red Indian regions of America. As regards India, the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny

gave rise to a great deal of discussion about the attitude of Government towards missionaries in general; but Lord Lawrence declared that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen. It is when un-Christian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an un-Christian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned." Eventually most people came over to this view, and the Society's Mission work was continued. During the sixties, however, interest in Foreign Mission labour abated considerably in England, and no very great progress was made; nevertheless, in 1868 a Mission to Japan was started, and at present it is in a very prosperous condition. By 1872 the period of depression had been tided over; in the following year the income of the Church Missionary Society was largely increased; and a fresh impetus was thus given to missionary activity abroad. In 1875 Persia was brought within the sphere of the Society's activity, and in this connection it may be mentioned that the Church Missionary Society is almost the only English Society which has undertaken work among Muhammedans. In the same year a Mission to Uganda was organised; and the circumstances under which it was started are extremely interesting. The *Daily Telegraph*, of the 15th November 1875, published a letter from Mr. Stanley, which had been written from the Capital of Uganda; and in this letter there was a direct challenge to Missionary Societies to establish themselves in this region. Two days later the Church Missionary Society received an anonymous donation of £5,000 to accept the challenge. A special Mission was consequently sent to Uganda and has been doing excellent work.

In 1879 the Bhil Mission in India was started; and by 1881 Divinity Schools had been established at Allahabad, Madras and Poona, in addition to the School founded at Lahore by Bishop French. In 1886 the Medical Mission at Quetta was instituted; while extensions of Missionary activity took place in China and Japan. Moreover, a Mission Station was established at Bagdad, and missionaries were despatched to Egypt, some of whom subsequently went to the Soudan. For work in the Soudan the Church Missionary Society has a Special Fund, which has been raised in memory of General Gordon. About this time also Missionary Bishops were appointed in East Africa and Japan.

Ever since, it is needless to add, the Church Missionary Society has made great progress; at present there are over 240,000 Christians in various parts of the world who belong to the Society, and of these about 65,000 are Communicants. Nearly 2,300 Schools and Colleges are maintained,

With some 84,000 scholars, while there are 496 Mission Stations with 802 European Missionaries (including 393 Clergy), and 6,097 Native Christian Agents (including 340 Clergy). In India there are 131,000 Native Christians under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. Over 170 European Clergy are maintained, while there are a little over 150 Native Pastors. There are also about 60 European and 3,000 Native lay-helpers. The Society, in addition, employs 14 Missionary Doctors, and it is computed that over 300,000 people are annually treated in the Society's Dispensaries and Hospitals. The Church Missionary Society also maintains some 300 Colleges and Schools, which are attended by 45,000 scholars.

In fine, it is beyond dispute that the Church Missionary Society has been extremely successful; and its missionaries are now recognised both as preachers of the Christian Gospel and as Educators of the various people among whom they labour; but as this paper is simply intended as a historical sketch of the progress of the Society, no opinion is expressed as to the religious merits of its work.

A KEESS.

ART. VII.—A SATI HOLOCAUST.

THE greatest Séthupathi of the Ramnad country, or the Maravar country as it was more usually called, was Ragunatha Dévan, known as the Kilavan (Tamil for "old man") in history. He was so-called because he ascended the throne, force of character being the weapon he employed in making his way there, at the late age of fifty-five. He died within the first lustrum of the eighteenth century, after a reign of a quarter of a century. The ordinary Hindu belief is that immediately preceding the death of a great ruler a mighty cataclysm gives warning of what is about to occur. And so it happened in 1709. An intense drought prevailed during the greater part of that year, and at the end of there was a tremendous cyclone. A strong gale from the north-east began in the early morning, extraordinary rain-fall lasting till noon; then the wind and rain suddenly ceased, and a calm continued till sunset. Shortly afterwards the wind rose again, blowing from the south-west, and lasted throughout the night. The result was a fearful inundation. Vast lakes were formed by the bursting tanks discharging their contents over the low-lying lands. Increased in volume every moment by the rain and by the freshets coming down the river-beds, the lakes overflowed the sinking lands of the Maravar country. In the darkness of night, and almost before the unfortunate inhabitants could realize what had occurred, there came down upon them a mighty wave, carrying in its surging course the wreck of houses and temples, struggling sheep and cattle, the corpses of men, women and children, and half-ripened crops of every description. All that was most useful and valuable in the country was swept away. Thousands of souls were lost in the vain attempt to flee. Only the very bold and vigorous managed somehow to escape. Next morning the sun shone on a most pitiable spectacle. The whole country was submerged, except a few high tracts which appeared like islands amid the surrounding waste of waters. The rice-crop had disappeared; and many cultivated fields were covered with sand and salt-earth. Most of the tanks and wells were fouled and poisoned, and a disastrous famine followed. Then died the veteran, the great Kilavan. The people had looked to him to alleviate their sufferings, and his death seemed to aggravate their miseries. Numbers emigrated, disheartened.

To propitiate the *manes* of the great ruler and in the hope of entering paradise with him, his forty-seven wives sought *Sati*. Some little distance from the town of Ramnad, a large deep

itch was dug, and filled in with a great quantity of sandal-wood. At the appointed time the body of the deceased prince clothed in rich garments was placed on the pile, which was set fire to in many places whilst the Brahmans performed the usual ceremony. When the flames from the lower part of the pile leapt high, the procession of victims came forth towards the altar on which they were to be immolated. Jewels decked them from head to foot and garlands of flowers crowned their devoted heads. Round and round the pit they moved in procession. Then at a signal from the principal widow they stopped. Holding high the sword which her departed lord had been wont to use, she addressed his successor to the effect that the weapon he saw was that whereby his King triumphed over his enemies, and admonished him to see that he used it for that purpose alone, and not to stain it with the blood of his subjects. "Govern them," she added, "as he did, be a father, and like him you will live many a happy day. There is nothing now left for me but to follow him where he is gone." Thus concluding, she placed the sword in the hands of the new King, and, crying aloud, flung herself boldly on the funeral-pyre invoking the names of her gods.

The second widow was a Kullar by caste and the sister of the Tondiman Rajah of Pudukottai, who had been appointed by the Kilavan shortly after he commenced his reign. He was present; and into his hands his sister had to deliver the jewels with which she was adorned. As he took possession of them he wept bitterly and embraced her tenderly. But she was quite unmoved. Gazing for a brief space now at the pile and now at the attendants, and crying out at intervals: "O! Siva, Siva, she sprang on the burning mass as boldly as did the first.

The remaining forty-five widows now followed one after another, some going to meet their fate with firmness, while others did so with an abstracted and bewildered air. It is said that one of the latter so completely lost her nerve, that she ran and threw herself on the neck of a Christian soldier who happened to be by, and implored him to save her. The man, alarmed at the public attention attracted to him, shook her off so violently that she lost her balance and fell headlong into the pit. With whatever exhibition of courage these women threw themselves on to the pile, yet no sooner did they feel the heat from below than they frantically strove to escape from their doom. Rushing hither and thither, struggling and fighting, tumbling over one another, they struggled in vain to reach the edge of the pit, whilst the air resounded with piercing screams and groans. To smother their cries and to hasten the consuming of the mass, heavy faggots were

thrown on the heads of the victims, and their voices grew feebler and feebler till they were finally lost in the crackling and roaring of the flames. The bodies consumed, the Brahmans approached the reeking pile, and, after the performance of certain ceremonies, collected the charred bones and ashes, and, securing them in rich and rare clothes, conveyed them to Rameshwaram and there consigned them to the sea. The funeral pit was now filled up, and a temple erected on the site in honour of the King and his faithful wives.

Father Martin, of the Madura Jesuit Mission, writing about this time, says that, when the Kilavan's wives immolated themselves, *Sati* was practised only by the wives of Princes, and no women of ordinary rank, not even Brahmans, were required to sacrifice themselves when their husbands died. But women of the Rajah caste, pretending to believe that they were descended from the ancient sovereigns of India, and consequently bound to follow the customs of their ancestors, indulged a morbid vanity by performing the act of self-cremation. Very rarely did Brahman widows think proper to go through the ceremony, and the practice was altogether unknown amongst other castes. Father Martin further gives it as his opinion that no woman of princely rank could avoid *Sati* without disgrace and loss of honour: and that the hesitation of some was overcome by the constant entreaties and remonstrances of their relatives, their courage at the supreme moment being fortified by intoxicants. These remarks, made in 1713, are confirmed by those of Abbé Dubois made a century later after a long residence in Mysore. It appears, however, that princesses in Madura were not absolutely bound to consent to *Sati*, and were not always despised and held degraded on account of their refusal; for we read that the great Queen-Regent, Mangammal, declined the honour and yet reigned long and prosperously—the regency was in fact a reign—and, notwithstanding her amours, left behind her a more honoured name than most of her predecessors did.

E. H. B.

ART. VIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF WESTERN NEPAUL.

TANSEIN is situated a little to the eastward of Palpa, the old capital of Western Nepaul. The latter spot contains a well-known shrine of Bhairava which is held in veneration by the people, but it is now an insignificant place, containing only a few dwelling-houses. Though Tansein has recently grown into more importance, it was unknown to our old atlas-makers. The latitude of Palpa is $28^{\circ} 8'$ North and the longitude $83^{\circ} 30'$ East. Srinagar, which is 1,000 feet above Tansein, is an uninhabited place, whence the snow-capped tops of the Himalayas are visible. Some eight miles from this place, is the small hamlet of Khêva, whence the Gunduk may be seen flowing, in a narrow glen, down the hill. Here lives Colonel Meen Bahadur, the late representative of the Nepaul Government in British India. He has a solitary hermitage on this spot, whence he commands a view over the whole of the beautiful scenery below. This gentleman belongs to the family of Rana which has the upper hand in the State. According to their traditions their ancestors, in the beginning of British rule in India, migrated from Odeypore and settled here. In course of time, by the sheer force of their skill, fortitude and genius, they seized the post of Prime Minister, and they still retain a monopoly of this, with the other chief posts. Colonel Meen Bahadur himself is a staunch follower of Swami Bhaskaranand of Benares and a learned Sanscrit scholar. The climate of this place is far better than that of any town in India, the temperature being as low in summer as that of the plains in the beginning of winter. The population consists of 10,000 souls resident at Tansein, which is the present military station of Western Nepaul.

The majority of the people follow a peculiar kind of Hinduism in a mechanical way, but certain few castes follow Buddhism, and are very primitive in their manner, customs and dress. The Brahmans and the Ranas alone belong to the Aryan family, and they exhibit all the intelligence, genius and civilization of that great race. It is difficult to ascertain when the country was Hinduised; but even a superficial observer can at once distinguish the different classes by their features. The orthodox religion of the Benares school is observed by the people of higher caste only. The Brahmans alone can be said to possess the pure religion of their ancestors, and, from the donations they receive from the Ranas, have become immensely wealthy, and consequently possess the greater part of the land. The Ranas themselves are becoming anglicised and

are gradually adopting European manners and customs. They are half-educated men, with only a smattering of English and Sanscrit; but when they come into contact with an educated inhabitant of India, they affect to know everything and thus betray their ignorance and expose themselves to ridicule. At the same time they are very much afraid of the English, and, therefore, hate them. In spite of apparent friendship, if England once loses her strong hold of India, they will leave no stone unturned to crush her.

What most strikes a foreigner here is the recognition of the principle of toleration by the State. Proselytism is not allowed, and is punishable; but adherents of all sects are allowed to follow their different religions freely, and if they disturb their fellow-citizens in following their manner of worship, or persuade them to change their belief, they are punished by the State. Even a man who changes his religion is punished. Buddhism is professed by the Newars, who correspond to the Bania class in India; but are here regarded as Sudras. They have no objection to animal diet, and will freely partake of buffalo's flesh. Unlike the Hindus of the North-West Provinces, who would prefer death to flesh-eating, a Hindu of Nepaul is very glad if he gets flesh once a week. Animals are freely sacrificed at the altars of the gods and goddesses. There are a few Brahmans who have left off taking flesh in obedience to a vow, like certain foolish Hindu women in India, who leave off taking a particular vegetable at some holy shrine in obedience to a vow for their life. Religious fanaticism, which is the characteristic of the Indian people elsewhere, does not exist here. Adherents of different religions live peacefully and safely together without any feeling of ill-will. The number of Mahomedans is small and they are very scattered. They do not form an important factor in the population, but are looked down upon as a degraded caste and treated with small consideration. It is a matter of great wonder to find "the faithful" thus yield to the yoke of "the infidel" and refrain from the observance of religious ceremonies and customs for which their stronger and more sensitive brethren in India are ready to become martyrs!

Custom here, as in all countries, plays an important part, and is observed tenaciously by the different castes and tribes. Different dialects are spoken by different tribes, who are mutually unintelligible; but there is a *lingua franca* which is intelligible to all, and is spoken by the higher castes only in their households; it is called *parbati* or *pahari*. The dress of the people is peculiar, consisting of a coat with strings at the four corners and tied in front, surmounted by a cap which is round, but shorter in front than behind. All Nepalis, whether boys or children, males or females, wear a girdle round

waist, and say that without it they could not move. The higher castes and the wealthy people wear trousers; but the poorer classes go half-naked, contenting themselves with a piece of cloth with a string worn round the waist for the sake of modesty.

In order to protect themselves from cold in the hills they wear a dirty coat round the upper part of the body, tied by strings and a girdle. The dress of the females is much simpler and more becoming. They wear the *dhoti* round the waist and a shift round the upper part of the body, keeping the head bare and the face unveiled. They like to adorn their hair with flowers, and thus present a very attractive appearance to a native of the North-Western Provinces, where respectable females are excluded from the public gaze. Physical beauty, however, in Nepalese women is rare. The wearing of ornaments, which is the cause of so much crime in India, is comparatively rare here. Gold earrings and ornaments are, indeed, worn, but among the upper classes the females are generally satisfied with the flower-ornaments which they make with their own hands. The males do not wear the *dhoti* and care little for ornaments. The sepoy and officers, however, wear a *chand* and a *tara* made of silver or gold, according to their respective grades. The *chand* is a disc, with an image of some goddess on it, and is worn on the front of the head-dress, and the *tara* is a circular string tied round the head-dress. This is the military uniform and is granted by the State free to all its servants. The police wear only a *chand* stuck in their *himama*, a head-dress peculiar to munshis and old-fashioned clerks in India. The *pardah* system in its worst form is unknown, the women of the higher castes appearing in public when occasion requires without a veil. Notwithstanding the liberty they thus enjoy, adultery is very little known. Among the Rana class, an adulteress and her paramour are both beheaded. A Brahman can kill any person without undergoing the extreme penalty of the law. A Brahman is here all in all; but the poor fellow is not extensively read in Sanscrit. He is granted free land by the State and receives donations from the wealthy officers. He attends and waits on his master like a sycophant of the worst kind. He will not cringe and bow, but will raise his hands to offer his benedictions. He is subservient and servile, but if once an encroachment be made on his rights with a view of stopping some malpractice which he regards as sanctioned by his *shasters*, he will raise the standard of revolt. As his person is holy and the abode of the gods, he cannot be beheaded or otherwise punished by the State.

The common weapon of all castes is the national *khukri*, which serves alike for killing an animal or an enemy;

and for cutting the boughs of trees for fuel. The incomes of the people are scanty and their wants are few ; but they are contented and satisfied. They are parsimonious to an extreme degree ; willingly starving themselves, or living on gruel, in order to lay by money. Both high and low are greedy of gain, and will accumulate wealth even at the risk of life.

They are mean, but faithful to their masters. They dislike foreigners ; and look upon the people of India with contempt, calling them *madhesi* in disgust. Sanitation is unknown here. The sweeper class is a limited one, and the Ranas alone pay for sweeping the latrines once a month to a sweeper, called here *pondé*. The accumulations of filth which thus arise and are left to decompose in course of time, produce various zymotic diseases, and cholera annually causes great havoc amongst the people.

The staple food of the people is rice. Wheat, of which the people of the United Provinces are so fond, does not grow here. Animal diet is freely used by all, without religious scruple. The people of the lower castes are very fond of parched rice, like the corresponding classes in the North-Western Provinces who are partial to parched gram. Bhatmās is a peculiar grain of the hills which, when parched, tastes not unlike the parched gram of India. Very few vegetables are grown and those of a very poor kind. No fruit worthy of the name is to be had ; though guavas, mangoes and oranges of an inferior description are grown. The people cannot prepare the delicious sweetmeats of Agra or Delhi. If they did not take animal food, their constitution would not withstand the cold climate of the hills. They boil the flesh, and, mixing it with salt and other ordinary spices, partake of it freely. To crown all, they allow flesh to lie putrid for weeks and continue eating it in this state. Flesh is not sold in overt market as in India ; so the people, in order to keep soul and body together, preserve it in a rotten state. Fish is similarly kept for months and greedily eaten by the people. The Ranas have adopted the European manner of eating, and freely use fork and knife. The Brahmans avoid eggs and pork ; the higher castes do not take the flesh of cocks or the eggs of hens. But the Ranas and others willingly partake of pork. Beef is not eaten by any, except the *chamār*, who will make a feast of a dead cow, though the killing of a cow is a heinous sin and a felony punishable with death. The Newars gladly partake of buffalo's flesh.

WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND COINS.

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| 27 Goruckpuri paisas | ... | ... | make 1 seer. |
| 8 seers ... | ... | ... | „ 1 dharni. |
| 16 dharnis | ... | ... | „ 1 man. |

One Goruckpuri paisa is equivalent to a tola or a Company's rupee in weight.

MEASURE OF CAPACITY.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| 10 muthis (handfuls)... | ... | ... | make 1 mána. |
| 8 mánas... | ... | ... | " 1 páthi. |
| 20 páthis ... | ... | ... | " 1 muri. |

GOLD WEIGHTS.

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|---------------|
| 10 láls or rattis | ... | ... | make 1 masha. |
| 10. mashas | ... | ... | " 1 tola. |

COIN.

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|---------------|
| 40 Goruckpuri paisas | ... | ... | make 1 mohur. |
| 2 mohurs | ... | ... | " 1 rupee. |

2 Company's rupees are equivalent to 5 Mohurs of Nepal.

There are 60 ghatís in one day and night. The day is reckoned from the rising of the sun. At 10 *ghatís* of the night, a gun is fired. The year is luni-solar like that prevalent in India ; but, for all civil purposes, the month is counted from the *sankranthí*.

No distinction is observed between civil and criminal cases ; all being tried alike by a district officer, called here *subd*. The appeal from him lies to a higher officer ; and a second appeal is allowed. In appeals, the officer giving judgment is made a respondent. The other party, who is a respondent in English courts, is not at all responsible ; but the judge alone has to vindicate himself before the higher officer. The Legislative Council consists of the Prime Minister as the head, and other legal members at Katmandu, which is the metropolis of Nepal. To this august body appeals from the decisions of the subordinate officers also lie. By the criminal law, which was framed by Maharaja Jung Bahadur, who was the first man in Nepal to repudiate the old and unsuitable law of the *smritis* and adapt the Hindu law to the wants of the age by studying the laws of European countries, where he had gone with this express object, no difference is made between culpable homicide and murder. Every act which results in the death of a person, whether such act be done intentionally or not, is punishable with death ; provided the death results within a period of 21 days. Cow-slaughter is a capital crime, and, therefore, punishable with death. The Brahmans, however, enjoy immunity from the punishment of death, the extremest punishment that can be inflicted on them being that of life-imprisonment, or banishment for life. Expulsion from caste and enforced slavery for crimes committed against society are some of the punishments provided by the Penal Code of Nepal. *Dithás* (judges), without possessing any legal knowledge, but having only their own common sense to guide them, decide the cases that come before

them. Under such a system, where there is no case-law or legal literature, miscarriages of justice, as may be imagined are frequent. To crown all, there is no class of pleaders or mukhtars to assist the untrained body of judges. In civil cases plaints are not stamped, but are presented on plain paper with the sum of one rupee, irrespective of the amount of the subject-matter of the suit.

The postal system is well managed as far as the condition of the country allows. On every letter not exceeding one tola in weight a stamp of one anna is affixed. As there are no railway communications, on account of the mountainous character of the country, delay necessarily ensues.

There are military and police establishments like those existing in India. The soldiers are trained after the European fashion, but they are very poorly paid, the subsistence allowance granted to a common *sepahi* not exceeding Rs. 4, which, considering the market rate of food-grains prevalent here, is not sufficient even for a single man. Thus extortion and persecution of the people by the soldiers are inevitable. Not only do they live in a chronic state of starvation, but, they are unlawfully and compulsorily employed by the officers in their menial work and are entirely without training. Officials are not paid monthly, but annually. There are two kinds of troops, one the new and the other the old, known here as *nai paltan* and *purani paltan*. The former are paid in cash from the Treasury, and the latter receive a kind of paper in the form of a cheque called *tirja*, payable at sight by the landlord named thereon to the bearer thereof in kind or in money. The higher officers, such as Colonels, Generals and Captains, are granted villages, from the revenue of which they realise their pay. Under such circumstances, these officers, being vested with full authority, try their best to get more than the villages can yield. They grant pattas to whoever promises to pay them, most, and are thus landlords with licenses for extortion and tyranny. Under such circumstances, if the ryots live in penury and semi-starvation, it is not a matter of wonder. The organisation of the police is in no way better than that of the military establishment. Yet, notwithstanding all these shortcomings, the number of crimes perpetrated is small. The country enjoys tranquillity and peace, but for these blessings it has to be thankful rather to its stronger neighbours and favourable situation than to its own strength.

Though the Government of the country is nominally monarchical, the sovereign has no power and is a mere tool in the hands of the Ranas, who constitute an oligarchy, monopolising all the high posts and reserving the loaves and fishes for themselves and their families. There is no public opinion; poli-

Real agitation is unknown, and the people calmly submit to the ruling power. They are satisfied with their position and have no idea of criticising the actions of their rulers. Some of the Rana officials publicly carry on trade to the utter disregard of the interest of the people. There is no printing press in the whole State and consequently there is no newspaper.

In a word, the best governed part of Nepaul compares unfavourably with the worst governed part of British India. The present nominal King is Prithwi Birbikramshah. But, as I have already said, he possesses no power and is a mere tool in the hands of his Minister. The first Prime Minister of the Rana family was Jung Bahadur, who, as is well known obtained the Ministership by the slaughter of many innocent persons, and has made it hereditary in the Rana family. According to the order fixed by him, the brothers first get the post one after another, and then their descendants in the same order. After Jung Bahadur, Ranadip became Prime Minister, but, after a reign of a few years, he fell a prey to the designs of his ambitious nephews. He was, indeed, an imbecile and fickle Minister; and it was his weakness that led to the memorable Civil War of 1885, in which many innocent lives were lost. Great credit is due to the then Resident, who, by his fortitude and presence of mind, saved the lives of the refugees who had thrown themselves on the protection of the English, and many of whom are still living in diverse parts of India, under the benign Government of Her Majesty, the Queen. After the Civil War, Bir Shumsher Jung was chosen Minister. An attempt was made by his younger brother to assassinate him; but it failed, and the assassin was exiled to a distant part of Nepaul where he might have no opportunity of fomenting a fresh rebellion. The King and his Minister are called *pán* (*páñch*) and *tin sarkár*, from the insignia they respectively bear.

Marriage among the Brahmans and the Ranas is celebrated in the Brahm form; but amongst the Newars and the Muggers, it depends upon the choice of the bride and bridegroom, and, therefore, resembles very much the system of courtship known to Sanscrit writers under the name of *Gándharva* marriage. A man may abduct a girl and keep her for four days. This forms a valid marriage. If the parents object to the bridegroom and succeed in tracing out the girl within the period of four days, the abduction does not constitute a valid marriage and is therefore voidable. Divorce is unknown among the higher castes, but among the lower classes a woman may live with any one she pleases, and her second husband has to pay compensation to the amount of sixty rupees to the quondam husband. Consequently there can be no such offence as adultery or rape in the case of these classes, nor is there any

difference observed between them by the framers of the criminal law ; while among the higher caste they are next to impossible, since a paramour is allowed by law to be beheaded. Polyandry does not exist, but polygamy is the general rule, and monogamy is the exception. The Ranas have several wives, besides concubines and slaves. The married wives of the Ranas are called Ranis ; and if a slave or a concubine becomes a mother, she is thenceforth called *Nami* and is respected as a wife duly married in the Brähma form. On account of the existence of the Sati system among the higher castes, and the want of the sanctity attached to the institution of marriage among the lower classes, widow-remarriage is unknown. Truly speaking, intermarriages are allowed, provided a man of lower caste does not marry a woman of higher caste. Such intermarriages as are not sanctioned by the sages are punishable according to the caste of the woman. The idea of chastity exists among the Brahmans and Kshetriya and more especially among the Ranas. The paramour of a woman of the above mentioned classes is allowed by law to be beheaded. The illegitimate offspring are not allowed the privilege of partaking of food from the same dish or drinking water from the same glass with the legitimate children. They get a smaller share of inheritance ; but in other respects no distinction is observed. To the great credit of the Nepaulese, it may be said that early marriage is unknown. Owing to the scarcity of suitable bridegrooms, the daughters amongst the Ranas often remain unmarried till very late in life, but to their credit infanticide is not at all practised.

The architecture of the country is of the old Hindu style. The houses have two or three storeys, the uppermost being thatched or tiled according to the rank of the inmates. To every house is attached a plot of arable ground on which rice and other vegetables are grown.

There is no courtyard in the centre of the house as in India. The temples are of peculiar construction and have pinnacles ; but between the pinnacle and the floor there are projecting tiles indicating storeys.

The mode of salutation is peculiar and differs with the caste of the parties. A Brahmin will only uplift his hands in honour of his master for the purpose of benediction, but, before another Brahman, he will lie prostrate and touch his feet. All other castes also prostrate themselves at the feet of a Brahman. Members of other castes salute their superiors by a slight inclination of the body, and by moving the fingers in token of honour before the forehead. At lamplight, the domestic servants salute their master ; and children and wives touch the feet of their patriarch. The female slaves chant songs and hymns in the evening in honour of the household gods.

The Ranas never go out in public without a State umbrella over the head, and two men to support them on either side. A peculiar kind of conveyance, known under the name of *kathi*, is used only by the officials. A man ties a wooden seat by means of a leather-belt to his waist and so carries his master. He is supported on both sides by men, so that he may not fall under the weight.

There are two kinds of slaves, known by the terms of *keta* and *bāndā*; but the sale of children is confined to one caste, who are known by the name of *kamārdā*. Indeed, slavery is looked down upon by the rulers of the country here, and every attempt is made to discountenance it. The higher castes are strictly prohibited from selling their children and are liable to punishment in case they attempt to dispose of them. A male slave can be had for Rs. 100, and a female for Rs. 300. At the time of the transaction, the parties enter into a written contract without any formality, and the title deeds thus executed entitle the holder to the custody of the person of the slave. In cases of misconduct, he has a right to inflict slight chastisement. The master procures a female slave for the male slave, and their offspring are sold like cattle. If a slave runs away without the permission of his master, the latter can have a summons or warrant issued for the arrest of the former; but if, fortunately, he makes his escape into British dominions, where slavery is penal, he becomes free. Sometimes these creatures are manumitted by kind-hearted masters for their good services, and thenceforth their status is changed, and they attain to the more dignified status of *ghallī*. Slaves of the above description are known by the name of *keta* in the language of the country. The better looking of the female slaves are as a rule reserved for the use of their master, and the children born of such women belong to the caste of the father. There is another class of slaves known under the term of *bāndā*. Persons other than Brahmans or Ranas voluntarily enter into a written contract for a certain term as a security for a loan advanced, or to be advanced, by the creditor, to render him services for the stipulated period, or till the debt is paid. Such a *bāndā* can also be sold like a *keta*. The lower castes such as the *Mugger*, and others, also become *bāndā* to a person who stands as a surety for them, or to any one who pays the fine for them in criminal cases.

The inhuman institution of Sati still prevails in full force in Nepaul. In India it is believed that women in former times, when they immolated themselves on the pyre, did so under the influence of a peculiar kind of ecstasy known as *sata*, which made them insensible to all bodily pain. But it is certain that women here who consent to burn themselves with the

dead bodies of their husband are in most cases, dupes of the priests. On the death of the husband, these men persuade the widow to burn herself with the corpse, and if she consents to die, she is taken with the dead body to *Rurerkshetra*, known here popularly as *Reri*. This dismal place is 8 or 9 miles from Tansein, and is situated on the bank of the Gunduck. According to the popular belief, every person on the approach of death is taken there so that he may die in the holy river, which, on account of its sanctity is called the Ganges.

Before the *sati* is burnt, camphor is stuffed into the ear, and the wood is placed over her so that she may not run away from the pain of burning; while, still further to prevent her from escaping, people stand near her on both sides. If camphor is not filled in the ears, burning resin is inserted in them, and thus the poor creature dies by sudden shock. Every attempt is made to burn the head first and to produce a shock to the brain in order to kill the victim with as little pain as possible. In cases in which the above devices fail, the death pangs of the woman, who struggles hard to disentangle herself from the heap of wood which is piled on her, are excruciating. The enlightened Ranas, however, regard this barbarous custom with abhorrence and very rarely sanction it. Before a woman can become a *sati*, she is required by law to obtain the sanction of the Governor of the Province in which she resides. If a woman is young and persists in the idea of self-immolation, notwithstanding the persuasion and pecuniary temptations of the governor, and the entreaties of her relatives, she is granted the sanction required. This restraint was intentionally provided by Maharaja Jung Bahadur in the hope of gradually putting a stop to the practice.

ART. IX.—ANDRÉ CHÉNIER.

Œuvres poétiques de André Chénier ; nouvelle édition, mise en ordre et annotée par M. Louis Moland. Paris Garnier Frères.

AN interesting list might be made of persons who have come into the world at the wrong time, and passed through it as wanderers, who had missed their true epoch. Some of the Anglo-Indian heroes, for example, have the air of Ironsides who would have been quite at home in the days of Henri Quatre or Oliver ; while Taine founded his study of the French Empire on a similar theory, according to which Napoleon Bonaparte was a belated condottiere who had strayed into a mistaken century, and whose true place would have been in the days of Machiavel ; leading the forces of Guelf or Ghibelline, carving out minute principalities with a medieval broadsword. The case of André Chénier, in such a scheme, would rather come in as that of one born too soon than of one born too late. Under Louis Philippe he might have been a greater and a wiser Lamartine, perhaps a President who would have prevented the Second Empire ; but at the end of the 18th century he found nothing ready for him, and passed away, to all appearance, a blighted blossom, victim of Fate's blast of irony. What, then, is he to us ?

Nothing, perhaps, but one of the most interesting of Frenchmen ; an illustrious instance of exceptional possibility. At a moment when it almost seems as if the gifted nation that holds the further side of the narrow seas had exhausted the date of her civilisation and was on the eve of hopeless regression, it may be well to glance at the brief career of a Frenchman who, more than a century ago, anticipated the attitude of the best men of our own day and resisted the contagion caused by an epidemic of criminal imbecility.

The language in which Chénier described the state of France in 1793, and the duty of a good citizen as he conceived it, is not out of date yet :—

“The multitude secretly abhors, while approving by its silence, the atrocity of men and the abomination of measures. Life is not worth having at the price of such disgrace. When Magistrates and Generals come out of the gutter to serve their country, there is one man left who has a different ambition : and he does not think to serve her ill when he says : ‘This land, which has brought forth so many prodigies of idiotic baseness has also produced a few men who have neither renounced intelligence nor abjured conscience.’”

It was a bold challenge, and he backed it with his life. He

neither joined any party nor held aloof from whatever promised to be a useful movement. As he had hitherto stood in letters, so now he would in politics. He had been content to write in the authorised style and to play the game of poetry according to the somewhat artificial rules recognised in the Academy. His earlier poetry had been clear, correct, objective: though it had something of novelty which he felt might keep it from immediate or universal acceptance. He endeavoured for a season to use his pen as a more practically-effective instrument, but he believed he could unite moderation of opinion with his passion for justice. When Louis XVI had kingly power, Chénier had addressed him on behalf of the Huguenots; when the sceptre had passed into the control of a group of homicidal maniacs, he dared to address the Reign of Terror on behalf of the dethroned King. Add this further distinction; that—whether as poet or as politician—Chénier was always himself, never an imitator. This originality proved to be at once the ruin of his personal interests and the glory of his subsequent reputation.

So peculiar an individuality appears to demand the usual explanation: was there not something in the origin and environment of the man which rendered it inevitable that he should be what he was? Probably there will be many to say that there was; even that in the case of every man such must be the fact. Yet one is made to hesitate when one sees how totally different a man his brother became in precisely similar conditions. The question is thus found to be one of the deepest scientific nature, which each of us will prefer to answer for himself.

In the meantime let the facts be briefly noted, for whatever they may be worth. In the latter part of the reign of Louis XV, the Consul-General for France at the City of Constantinople was one Louis Chénier, who took to wife a Cypriote lady of beauty and talent, said to be descended from the royal line of Lusignan. The family name of this lady was Santi d'Homaka—or so it is given by Sainte Beuve, who adds the *piquante* information that her sister was the grandmother of another famous Gaul, the late Adolphe Thiers. M^{me}. Chénier is said to have borne four sons, two of whom only emerge into the ken of posterity: about 1765, when the family retired to France, we hear of these, namely, André, born 1762, and Joseph, who was two years younger: there was also a sister, who grew up to become the wife of Count Latour de St. Igest, and a third brother, of whom we know only that he lived to be a husband and father. M. Chénier père, went to Morocco as representative of his country at that Court; and the education of the boys was conducted under the Greek mother.

It might be imagined that a Hellenic lady, brought up under Osmanli rule, would be ill-qualified to undertake a charge of this kind: the literary distinction of her sons, however, suggests a contrary expectation, which is fully confirmed by the little that we know of the mother. In Guy's *Voyage Littéraire* are to be seen two *Letters* on modern Greece from her pen, which have been pronounced both clear and learned; she taught her boys to read, write, and speak classical Greek; and about the time of her settling in France, she sent them to the famous College of Navarre. Here André gained the first prize in French declamation five years later, and the word used by the biographer (*discours*) shows that this was an original composition by the lad of sixteen. In 1781 André left school and entered on a life of pleasure and literature in Paris. The first considerable poem of which a copy has been preserved is on a theme furnished by Propertius (III. 3, in which he noted that he had included ("according to my custom") passages from other Roman poets as well as thoughts of his own. The piece was originally composed on the 23rd of April 1782, just before a visit to the opera; and is noticeable for the decision with which the author, in his 20th year, announces his intention to unite wine, woman, and song in the scheme of his existence. Accordingly he opens with a paraphrase of these four lines of his original:—

Me juvat in prima coluisse Helicon juvena
Musarumque choris implicuisse manus.
Me juvat et multo mentem vincere Lydeo,
Et caput in verna semper habere rosa.

Which graceful programme our young bard "extends" in eight lines which may be thus rendered:—

On Pindus, in my youth I learned to stray—
For Love, the god of poets, led the way—
Where the nine sisters, in those sweet resorts,
For ever dance, I mingle in their sports;
So long as youth goes bounding through my veins
I mean to sing Love's happiness and pains,
With cherished friends my hours of life employ,
And share the raptures of unceasing joy.

An Epicurean ideal, from which, nevertheless, a prospect of ultimate seriousness was not to be excluded. A time would come when pleasure charmed no more; a rural retreat was then to be sought where natural science was to be studied, with practical gardening for the resource of leisure: but even there pleasure should be sought in the hours of evening, though of a kind more appropriate to old heads and hearts.

Some friends will come, long tested by their truth,
Pleasure—though not the pleasure of my youth—
Shall to my sober feasts its balms accord
And autumn flowers shed perfume on my board.

Such, then, was our poet's plan; in realising which, after the fashion that we all know so well, events were to give but slight assistance. This piece was not finished, or made public.*

In 1783 Chénier made a brief experience of soldiering, joining the Angoumois infantry, quartered at Strasburg. He had already attracted attention. Charles Palissot de Monténay (1730-1814) was then an important figure amongst Parisian critics: he had written a comedy called *Les Philosophes*, in which he ridiculed the ideas of the rising schools, Diderot, Rousseau, etc., he also produced a *French Dunciad* on the lines of our English Pope. Amongst the critical essays of Palissot may be found a note on the young poet in which he speaks of the pleasure that he has felt from the few writings which he has seen from the pen of Chénier, which struck him, he says, not only by the signs of poetic talent which they show, but still more by "the character of masculine and deep thought which can only be found in a man of genius."

Nor was this appreciation of a severe and somewhat old-fashioned judge the only encouragement afforded to the youthful aspirant. The foremost lyric writer of the day was Escouchard Le Brun (1729-1807), a would-be classic, whose frigid pindarics are now forgotten by all but literary historians. Mr. Saintsbury, in his valuable "Short History of French Literature," has observed of him that in his old age he lived to celebrate Napoleon: a confusion with another Le Brun which Mr. Saintsbury shares with Napoleon himself, who believed the Ode in his honour to be by Escouchard, though it was really from the pen of a younger man of the same surname (V. S. Beuve "Nouveaux Lundis," VI. 114, and "Portraits," III. 155). The Pindar of Paris, however, was the undoubted author of the poem addressed to Chénier, in which he was good enough to say:—

Thy laurel soon will shade Parnassus side,
I guess its greatness by its growing pride;
Glory, and friendship, glory's master still,
Shall place our names on Memory's sacred hill

Under such auspices our young poet quickly deserted the career of arms, and returned to Paris, where he became intimate with many prominent men of the time, among whom Palissot, Lavoisier, David (the painter), the scholarly Brück, and good old Malesherbès are most easily recognised by an oblivious posterity. Among other friends of that date are to be noticed the Chevalier—afterwards Marquis—de la Luzerne; and the Pole Niemcewicz famous for clinging to his national tongue in exile.†

* V. Final Note.

† V. Morfill's *Slavonic Literature*, p. 187.

Meanwhile, the mention of the Polish poet brings us face to face with a curious question. To some lines of a somewhat later date appears the following signature :—"Niemcewicz, always the friend of Saint André;" and Palissôt about the same time described the young poet as "Chénier (Marie de Saint André)." Now Chénier was by no means a saint, at that or at any other moment of his brief career; and the appellation can only be taken as a sign that he in extreme youth aspired to the rank of nobleman. How far this was justified is perhaps a question of no great importance, yet it has its interest as bearing on the notion we are to form of that masculine and profound character which we have already seen attributed to him. The father is always designated as "Mons. Louis Chénier;" but the later members of the family have used the "particle;" and our André was certainly entered in the Royal Army as a "cadet-gentilhomme," implying much more than our English style of "gentleman-cadet." M. Chénier, père, finally retired from service in 1784; and André was soon after placed in diplomatic employ: may not some authority have been given to the family which justified the apparent assumption? One would like to think so.

A few years followed in which travels in Switzerland and Italy alternated with the life of pleasure which we have seen promised to himself by the poet. In 1787 he went to London as Secretary to M. de La Luzerne, already mentioned, and for the next three years continued to fret—more Gallico—amid the phlegmatic society and beneath the leaden sky which are obligatory elements of every good Frenchman's estimate of our country. Nevertheless there were consolations: in some intranslatable Greek elegiacs the poet warmly recorded the charms of British loveliness; and a more respectable flame was apparently kindled by the once well-known Maria Cosway (née Hadfield), the wife of the miniaturist of that name, herself a skilful artist and a great figure in the London artist world of her day. Daughter of the Irish proprietor of an hotel at Leghorn and his Italian wife, the beautiful Maria studied art at Rome, and then came to London, where she married her vain and eccentric husband, to whom she seems to have made an indifferent partner and from whom, indeed, she ultimately separated. About twenty years of age, and variously known to foreigners as "Miss, Mistress, and Miladi," she was for a short time a considerable element of André's London life; and it was to her that Niemcewicz addressed the lines subscribed by him as "the friend of St. André." Of these there is not much to be added; they are in the old fashioned style of Alexandrine panegyric, and only deserve notice as showing that some sort of *liaison* must have existed to call out the Polish poet's homage.

* André himself wrote several things in the Cosway's honour, thus a piece called "The Slave," of which only the fragment of less than 150 lines has been preserved, was dedicated to "Milady Coswai" in verses of which we have another fragment. There is also a short ode in Italian (addressed to Mrs. Coswai, Pall Mall, London) which need not detain us further. Whether the attentions of the poetical secretary offended the husband is not recorded, but the pair were parted, and Maria retired to a religious seminary at Lyons in 1804. In 1821, however, she was again living in London, but died at Lyons a few years later.*

* In August 1790, when André returned to his beloved Paris, the preliminary warnings of the coming eruption were already audible. The Bastille had fallen more than a year ago; the King and Queen had been brought from Versailles by the mob; the work of sedition had passed from the hands of the Duke of Orleans into the rougher hands of the Jacobin Club. And now was to be added the sinister portent of military insubordination, to culminate—for the moment—in the adventures of "brave Bouillé" in Lorraine, and the mutiny of the Vaudois Regiment called "Chateau Vieux," of which a graphic picture is given by Carlyle. Bouillé was resolute and capable, and he dealt with the mutinous Vaudois, so that half the Regiment were shot and the rest decimated by order of Court martial; some sent to the gallows, to the galleys the remainder. The connection of this affair with André Chénier will appear in the sequel.

For the present we are to consider him as living in his father's house, in the Rue du Sentier; enlisting in the National Guard, and contributing in prose and verse to moderate journalism. Mme. Chénier and her younger son espoused the doctrines of the extreme Revolutionists; and the division of opinion among the inmates of the house soon disclosed itself to the public. In 1791, appeared André's "Jeu de Paume," probably begun in 1789, but not finished until the death of Mirabeau had been followed by the ill-fated "constitution" and the summoning of the new Parliament. The poem ends with a mournful warning. Liberty, which the poet refused to recognise as the gift of violence, would yet be the supreme lawgiver; the Jacobins would be ultimately condemned,

"The inexorable force of Destiny

Drags to that sovran Place

Your trembling majesty;

There shall be heard the weeping human race;

There, armed with lightning sits the unblenching judge,

Who hears the People; and your sceptred brass

Shall fall, collapsed in dust."

* According to André's Italian ode, Mrs. Cosway was a mistress of the piano and violin.

It seemed the swan-song of expiring virtue, but the prophecy had its fulfilment that did not tarry, though the prophet did not live to see it. In the spring of the year 1792 after the return from Varennes, a new complexion was attributed to the conduct of the Vaudois soldiers; "journal responds to journal," notes Carlyle; "Joseph Chénier the Jacobin to his brother André, the Feuillant;" and the remnant of the Vaudois are to be released, and sent from the galleys at Brest to be gloriously entertained in the Hotel de Ville. André's indignation found vent in an ode, the only other piece of verse known to have been published, with his name, during his lifetime.* The ode (or "Hymn" as it is called by the author) is on mock-heroic lines and thrills with bitter humour; attacking Collot d'Herbois, the promoter of the affair, with a scorn which was not omitted from the debit side of poor André's account now running. Joseph Chénier had been one of the promoters of the reception of the Vaudois convicts, but André had refrained from involving him in the attack on his colleague Collot: nevertheless one cannot suppose much domestic happiness prevailing in the Rue du Sentier, while the household was thus distracted by momentous issues.

The year wore on in deepening gloom. Early in August the injudicious manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick reached the French capital, which at once replied with the assault on the Palace. The unhappy Louis took refuge with the Assembly, which soon afterwards voted for his deposition; and the difference between the father and mother, and between the two brothers—as in many other families of those miserable times—tended to utter separation. No positive rupture occurred, however. The father continued under his own roof at Paris; while André betook himself to Versailles, where Joseph appears to have had an apartment, or even a small house; this was ultimately assigned as a residence to André; who, however, before settling there, made an autumn tour in Normandy.

The trial of the King followed, in which André is said to have aided Malesherbes in preparing the defence: the fore-doomed Louis addressed his judges in a speech of much skill and dignity, which was afterwards ascribed to André by Chateaubriand. All, however, that can now with certainty be affirmed from first-hand evidence seems to be that André wished, and hoped, that an appeal to the people would be allowed. The Assembly, as we know, voted for sentence of death without appeal, by a small majority; André's brother being one.

Joseph Chénier was now Deputy for the Department of

* Final Note.

Seine-et-Oise, and openly adhering to the Jacobin party :— he seems to have used his influence for the protection of his indiscreet brother, the moderation of whose opinions was no means extended to his language. André, indeed, retired from journalism ; and his acrimony was confined to verse, which was not printed, though it leaked out in MS. and helped to swell the bill of enmity. As before in London, his retirement was cheered by female friendship, he became intimate with Mme. Pourrat, and her daughters, the younger of whom he sang under the style of 'Fanny.' Sainte Beuve has written of the 'delicacy' of this liaison, and nothing in the odes written under the Fanny rubric betrays a want of respect. Let us hope for the best.

In any case the Idyll was of short duration. On the 7th March André was arrested, as it seems, by a mistake or mere chance. Being on an evening visit to a lady named Piscatory, he was apprehended, by an officious emissary of the Committee of general security charged with a warrant against Mme. Piscatory's son-in-law, who happened to be from home. Taken next morning to the Luxemburg, he was refused admission by the custodians ; but the emissary was not to be deprived of his prey and accordingly threw André Chénier into another prison, that of St. Lazare, where he was left under a special warrant issued by the Committee about a fortnight later. The interest of his writings at once becomes intensified : during the ensuing months he continued to compose odes and short satires, which were regularly transmitted to his family ; included among these are two famous pieces "The young Captive," and the address to his brother. For the most part, these "Iambics" breathe furious invective against the Jacobins, of whom many are named.

Of the two poems here cited, the former is the best known. In it the poet represents himself as a prisoner already under the cloud of his own fate, overhearing the lamentation of a girl who is in the like evil case, and who urges her youth as a plea against a possible death-warrant. The situation is pathetic, but the execution may appear to modern taste unequal and marred by artificial phrasing. It is at least gratifying to know that the poor young lady's blood was not shed upon the scaffold of the guillotine.* She was a Duchesse de Fleury, who escaped by means of a bribe to her jailers, divorced her Duke and lived to be the wife of M. de Montrond (Talleyrand's follower), whose acquaintance she had made in prison. It seems unlikely that so small a sum as one hundred louis (£ 80)—which was the price of evasion in the other case—would have been wanting to a man so well-connected as André Chénier ;

* v. final Note.

And he probably trusted that his father's money and his brother's influence would be exerted for him, and procure his release. In one of his prison elegies—"Iambics," as he called them—he compares himself to a sheep penned up for slaughter, but expresses a faint hope :—

"What help of friends? Ah! sent by some dear hand
A word of cheer across these sombre yards
The fever of my heart perhaps had fanned,
Joined with a gift of money to my guards:
But all goes headlong, yours the right to live,
O friends! Live then, as happy as you may;
Postpone the doom those ruffians long to give;
I too perhaps in some serener day
From care and tears have turned my face away."

These are sadly sincere accents: and when we turn to the ode addressed to the prosperous Jacobin brother, we seem to hear a yet more tragic tone :—

"My brother! May no keen adversity
In his successes mix;
May stage and forum both his triumph see;
May power and fortune ever be
Poured on him, in the measure that he seeks;
May all the gods of art, from day to day,
Pamper his every sense;
And when at last he yields to time's decay,
May a fair monument display
His glory to surrounding monuments!"

Nevertheless, nothing came to break the gloom but hope; vain as human hopes are wont to be, yet having their share in keeping up the poet's heart. *Sursum corda!* André's verse shows that the prisoners danced, flirted, gambled even: and when the voice of the grim apparitor, calling a fresh name, had ceased to echo in the corridors, congratulated one another that their names had not yet been sounded. At last came June, with its prison-plots, called by Carlyle "the stereotype of Tinville," but perhaps not wholly imaginary—who knows now?

In any case André was accused of sharing in the desperate attempt of the lambs against the wolves; on the 25th of July he was tried, sentenced, and executed; his last recorded words—with hand on head—"Yet surely there was something there." Three days later the Terror came to its unexpected and unlamented end.

If we try to estimate the value of Chénier's poetry, we must bear in mind two peculiar circumstances. He wrote at a time when the pseudo-classic school had exhausted its mandate in producing Pindar Le Brun; and Chénier's work was not apparently intended for publication. Judged by these two standards it assumes a special character. From the days of Ronsard to those of Leconte de Lisle no French poet has used the

thoughts and images of ancient times with so much knowledge and with so little affectation.

Next to the peculiar accomplishment of André Chénier is his lack of vanity and his devotion to the art of poetry for his own sake. In place of the pose of the ordinary French writer ever on the look out for effect, success, applause, or profit, he writes, "as the oyster produces pearls, or the silkworm her golden threads" (to which he might have added, "or as the asp does venom"). One poem is addressed to Fanny, another to Marat, as love or hate inspires him; but to the printer or the publisher, nothing. It was not until his poor trunkless head had mouldered under the cruel street for a quarter of a century that his songs broke silence.

They seemed to please at once, and to gain in favour year by year. Their savour of Hymettus was sweet enough to palates long cloyed with Boulevard caramel. It was *naïf*—let the word pass—and the learning lay hidden in charm, like the sword of Harmodius wreathed in myrtle.

Here, for example, from the 8th epigram of Theocritus, a couplet on a young fellow who died in autumn, Chénier says, with what Sainte Beuve called exquisite sentiment:—

"Unhappy shepherd! In the cruel seas
Thou sinkest with the sinking Pleiades."

And the following is the translator's comment:—

"This is the end of it: 'Unhappy Shepherd, under the very fall of the Pleiads you have fallen.' In translating one should preserve the opposition of the words 'the sea has received him with those stars.' So, in the "Maid of Scio," we find him noting that the mad girl on the rocks would make a picture, and fancies her survivors recalling a song which she may be imagined singing:—

"Will he return no more? Perhaps he will. . . .
No! in his tomb he waits and hearkens still:
I die for him; though true in death he be;
I go to him; he cannot come to me."

Still more instructive is the spectacle of the poet in his workshop given by Sainte Beuve in his account of the fragmentary "Hermes." This was to be a poem in which, like a modern Lucretius, André undertook to deliver in metrical form an exposition of the philosophic system just then coming under notice in the hands of Buffon and Lamarck. Here too, though the matter was to be of the very newest, the Greek and Latin authors were to supply the manner. The methods of Empedocles, of Aratus, of Virgil and of Lucretius were to be employed to make agreeable and popular the theories of Hölbach and the discoveries of Cabanis.

That anything would have come of the attempt, who can tell? All that possibility was shorn off by the axe of Fouquier-Tinville; but that it was germinating in the young head is proof that Chénier had not forgotten the study of Science which he had looked forward that evening before the opera in 1782.

A good French critic has observed that André Chénier did not belong to his epoch (*'n'était pas du tout de son temps'*). Under a garb of classic polytheism he maintained the love of animated nature: sensuous, but purified by the sense of abstract beauty. Moreover, it was his fortune that—*felix opportunitate sortis*—he did not publish what he wrote. When at length his poems appeared posthumously, the last dregs of the age of reason were disappearing and other hands had already begun to attack the stucco temples of the rouged and periwigged Muses of the past, so as to draw men's attention from their perannuated charms. Already Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël had combined to sound a new key-note, which, whether as Realism or Romanticism, was to effect a change in taste as great as any which the overthrow of privilege had caused in politics; Béranger was giving models of simplicity; while, amid much tawdry medievalism, another volley was discharged at the plaster Pantheon by the *Muse Française* and the *Conservateur Littéraire*. Roger Collard, Maine de Biran, and Charles Jodier led an attack from other quarters; and when, in 1839, Sainte Beuve produced his powerful analysis of André's genius, the very man-in-the-street had to acknowledge the voice of a new master, speaking from the tomb.

The thought expressed in Chénier's last words was not inspired by his seat on Fouquier's ghastly tumbril, as it occurs in some of his previous prison-poems. But it indicates the confidence with which he regarded his own genius, a confidence amply justified by his posthumous renown.

National partiality has made English critics compare Chénier with Keats. Each was an independent lover of the Muses who died young, but we must not strain the analogy; for nothing could well be more distinct than the poetry of a medical student fed upon Lempriere, from that spontaneously secreted by a Frenchman saturated with real Greek feeling from his mother's knee. Chénier's charm is unique: he sees the eternal beauty of man, woman, land and sea, as that beauty was revealed to a vanished race who had enjoyed its first fruits, and almost its monopoly. He was a gentleman; too, by birth and education; and an artist who united modern passion with the ensuious expression of ancient Hellas; pouring poetry into politics and pelting his opponents with an almost hysterical vituperation. Were one obliged to find a match for him among

English poets, 'one would be disposed to compare him with Mr. Swinburne, as we knew him five and twenty years ago.

But whether he resembled one or other of our English poets, André certainly illustrates a universal truth. Men may, perhaps, be the product of their surroundings; but the same surroundings produce very diverse men, and are modified by them in turn: who can say that the surroundings of any remarkable man would have been the same if he had never played his part there? The objective of a planet like our Earth is to be inhabited, to be full of life as highly intelligent and effective as possible. That end not being obtainable by conscription only, inducements must be held out for voluntary service. The propagation and prolongation of sentient life must be made attractive by being—or seeming to be—connected with enjoyment and spontaneous effort. Soon or late the bait has done its work, and the ablest man lays his hand upon his brow, and confesses that he has been cajoled. And yet he has not lived in vain if he has influenced his contemporaries by holding up a standard of effort, and left posterity a legacy of bright ideal. To whatever nation the student may belong, he can hardly avoid the conclusion that 19th century literature owes to our poor André a sense of honour, grace, and justice that are not to be found in such otherwise great poets as Hugo or Musset. We, therefore, salute in him a type of some of the best results of that mighty movement which appeared to carry him away. Such men are indicated by the words of the Jewish philosopher:—

"In the sight of the universe they seem to die, and their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us to be utter destruction; but they are in peace.

"For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet in their hope full of immortality!"

Note.—The only poetry published by André Chénier consists of the "Jeu de paume" less than 500 lines (Bleuet, 1791), and a still shorter piece—that on the Swiss—which appeared in the *Journal de Paris* of the 15 April, 1792. The "Jeune Captive" was produced a few months after the writer's death in the *Décade Philosophique*, with an editorial note to the following effect:—"The author had studied much and produced little. Few know what a loss his death has been to poetry, philosophy, and classical scholarship." The "Jeune Tarentine" appeared in the *Mercur* of 1 Germinal IX., and some of its lines were quoted in Chateaubriand's *Genie du Christianisme*, about two years later. The first attempt at a collection of the metrical works of Chénier was in an edition by H. de Latouche, published by Baudoin, Foulon and Company in 1819, which during the next four years went through three issues.

ART. X.—THE LAND LAWS OF BENGAL.

CHAPTER I.

The Landlords and the Settlement.

I INTEND to deal in this article with the Land laws which are in force in this Province. In connexion with them one subject is of so engrossing importance as to dwarf almost everything else—the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In no part of the country, except in Oudh and Benares, is there anything like it, and nowhere else is the state of the landed aristocracy, as well as of the ryots, better or more prosperous than in Bengal.

It is said by many that the Permanent Settlement was simply the result of Lord Cornwallis's desire to introduce into Bengal the forms of land tenure which prevailed in England. This notion is wholly erroneous. The Settlement was nothing more or less than the old revenue system of the Hindu and Mahommedan periods, resuscitated and revived from the chaotic state into which it had been submerged during the frequent wars which broke out in Bengal before the battle of Plassey. The only misfortune was that the Permanent Settlement increased the former revenue at least four-fold. Let us see, first, how the land was taxed in India in Hindu and Mahommedan times.

Under the ancient Hindu law the demand of the king is limited to a twelfth, an eighth, or, at the most, a sixth of the produce. It is also declared that in time of war, if he should take one-fourth, he would commit no sin. A sixth of the actual crop constituted, therefore, the utmost limit of demand under the ancient Hindu system. The texts of Manu, Baudhyana and Jagnavalka on this point are well known, but still I quote them here for the benefit of the reader.

Manu says :—

(১) 'পঞ্চাশদ্ধাগ আদেয়ো রাজা পশুহিরণ্যয়োঃ'

ধান্যানামষ্টমোভাগঃ যষ্ঠৌ দ্বাদশ এব বা ।'

B VII. 130 verse.

Baudhyana :

(২) 'ষট্ভাগভূতোরাজা রক্ষেন প্রজাঃ'

Buhler, p. 192.

(1) A king should take a fifteenth part of all wild animals and gold, and an eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of crops.

(2) A king should protect his subjects by taking (only) a sixth (of the crops).

Jagnavalka :

- (৩) পুণ্যায় ষট্ভাগমাদভ্যে ন্যায়েন পরিপালয়ন্।
সর্বদানাদিকং যস্মায় প্রজানাং পরিপালনং।

337.

These are some of the oldest authorities on the subject. But even in Kalidas's time, when Vicromaditya reigned in Ujjain, there was this limitation to the taxation of land by Government. That jésting Jacques, Bidusaka, thus refers to it in the Sakuntola :—

- (৪) 'কো অবরো অবদেসো ভস্মাণরায়ানং নীবার হউভায়ং
অস্মাণং উপহরন্তু ভি।'

So in Raghu :

- (৫) 'ভান্ম্যজ্ঞষষ্ঠাঙ্কিত নৈকতানি
শিবানি বস্তীৰ্জলানি কচ্চিৎ।'

What the Mahommedan Emperors did with reference to the assessment of the land revenue is matter of history. The great Akbar's revenue system, which is held out even now as a model of fiscal policy based on justice and humanity, limited the land-tax to a third of the crops. Allauddin Khilji and Sher Shah did the same.

It is useless to enter into an academic discussion regarding the proprietary rights of the Zemindar class of old. Suffice it to say that the statement of English writers that there never was a class in ancient India of that description is a most gratuitous and unwarrantable assumption. As a matter of fact, the Landlord class is not a creation of yesterday, or of the time of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. It has existed since the days of Manu, and has always risen phoenix-like from the ashes of all past monarchies in Bengal. In the Seventh Chapter of the Institutes of Manu there is a vivid description of the village Chiefs. They were the lords of from twenty to a thousand villages; were armed with revenue and judicial powers, and discharged in the villages the functions of the sovereign. This they had continued to do through the dark and stormy periods of the Moghul Emperors, and even for some time after the assumption of the Sovereign power in Bengal by the British Government. These people

-
- (3) A king takes a sixth (of the crops) by justly ruling his subjects. This gift is the most precious of all, as it entitles the subjects to be governed well.
- (4) What other pretext have you kings save and except the taking away of the sixth part of the crops?
- (5) Are those waters of the holy places whose sandy banks are strewn with the sixth part (of the crops) beneficial to health?

were nothing but the true types of the Zemindars of the Mahomedan and modern periods. *An impartial historian thus writes on the subject :—“From all this concurring evidence, it is clear that the sovereign's proprietary right in the soil was, in Hindustan, as in Europe, more nominal than real ; that, prior to the Mahomedan conquest, the land was divided amongst individual proprietors, and that the bhoomia of Rajputana, the malik of Bengal, the meerasadar of Southern India, the nair mul guenies of Canara, and the jelmkars of Malabar, were all hereditary landholders, with legal rights, of which they could only be dispossessed by the violence of despotic power.”

Mr. Shore says : “I consider the Zemindars as proprietors of the soil, to the property of which they succeed by right of inheritance.” It is an undeniable fact that the Zemindars had lived for centuries in great splendour on the produce of their lands, which had quietly come down under the existing tenure through successive generations ; that they had the power to sell, to alienate, or to mortgage ; and that, so long as they paid the full quota of Government revenue, they enjoyed secure possession of their lands.

After assuming the civil administration of Bengal, the policy of discountenancing all permanent property in land was steadily pursued for some time by the British in India, who were perpetually picking holes in the tenures by which it was held, even where the deed of grant expressed in the plainest terms that it was perpetual, “from generation to generation.” They also indulged in the vain delusion of an existing precedent for resuming all lands as Sovereign. Both Colonel Todd and Sir Thomas Munro mention that the power of the King to do this had become obsolete all over the country.

The question of a permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal was mooted almost simultaneously with the accession of the British to power, and Warren Hastings expressed the greatest unwillingness to sanction it, casting grave doubts on the rights of the Zemindar class. Francis, too, opposed it with great vehemence, and his defence of the proprietary rights of the land-owners is one of the ablest Minutes that we have on the subject.

It was reserved, however, to Lord Cornwallis to take up and settle this important question. The Mahratta and Mysore wars had left the finances of the country in a sorry plight, and the temporary settlement of the land brought the Government to the point of bankruptcy. There was no less than several crores of rupees of land revenue in arrears, and the authorities were in great difficulty.

* Mr. Buchanan.

To surmount this difficulty both Lord Cornwallis and the Court of Directors made the greatest efforts. The only way out of it appeared to be a perpetual settlement of the land revenue and the recognition by Government of the rights of the Zemindar in the soil. This Cornwallis conceived to be essential to the relief of the country, the condition of which he described as wretched in the extreme. "I am sorry," he observes, "to be obliged to say, that agriculture and internal commerce have for many years been gradually declining; and that at present the inhabitants of these provinces are advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness." He also adds, "I may safely assert that one-third of the Company's territories is now a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts."

In pursuance of his plan, Lord Cornwallis entered into a permanent settlement of the land revenues for ten years, which was afterwards declared unalterable, and the Zemindars of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were formally constituted legal and perpetual proprietors of their respective estates, on the payment of a fixed rent to the State.

There is not the least doubt that, in abolishing a land-tax increasing at the pleasure of Government with the produce of the land, Lord Cornwallis acted in the right direction and upon a most just principle. The greatest English statesman of the day, Mr. Pitt, stamped the measure with the seal of his approbation, after giving the subject the careful consideration which it deserved. Indeed, the distinguished character of Lord Cornwallis and the authority which the permanent settlement derived from the approbation of Mr. Pitt, of Lord Grenville and Lord Melville, clothed it with a veneration which for many years precluded the agitation of any question as to its merits. (Common's Committee, App. p. 67.) In the Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, 9th April 1813, Lord Wellesley observed: "Every Governor of India had acknowledged the justice and policy of the principle of the permanent settlement, and he was satisfied that every person qualified to be a Governor of India must do the same. It formed the corner-stone of the Government of India, and the extension of the principle to the conquered provinces would found a solid basis for that Government to rest upon." On the same occasion Lord Grenville urged the insertion of a clause in any charter to be granted to the Company declaratory of the adherence of the Indian Government to the principle of permanency.

Let me now examine the principle on which the amount of revenue was assessed and settled on the lands. After long discussion, it was at length fixed at the average amount of the collections for the last three years. In the division of the

three-fifths, constituting the Government share, the one-eleventh was left to the Zemindar. In this distribution there will be a revelation to many to learn that only a poor one-eleventh of the crops was given to the Zemindar. Having imposed an exorbitant land-tax on the soil, it was a very questionable policy on the part of the State to give little or nothing to the Zemindar, who was really the proprietor of the land and responsible to Government for the regular discharge and payment of this heavy amount of revenue. Still, in the face of these simple facts, there are not wanting people, both here and in England, who fulminate both in and out of season the most incredible story that, in the settlement, the Zemindar was the only person who was really benefited, and that the Government and the cultivator were cheated out-right. On the contrary, the fact is that it was the State and the ryot who took everything and the Zemindar was nowhere.

It will be interesting to take a glance at the different annual amounts of revenue assessed by successive Governments in Bengal during Moslem rule. The assessment made by Sher Shah was almost the same as that of Todar Mull. It amounted according to the exaggerated estimate of Sir John Shore, to about a crore of rupees (Rs. 1,06,93,152). For nearly two centuries after this, up to the time of Kassim Ali, this figure remained nearly stationary, the utmost increment on paper being a third of a crore of rupees. During the administrations of Shujah Khan, Jaffir Khan and Sujauddin, the exact amounts of revenue were fixed at Rs. 1,31,15,907, Rs. 1,42,88,186, and Rs. 1,42,45,561 respectively. The standard revenue of Todar Mull seems to have been all that the country could bear. Inconsiderable as was the augmentation during the rules of Shujah and Jaffir Khan, it was got by the most cruel oppression. In the reign of Meer Kassim, who was only a puppet in the hands of the English, this oppression reached its height. The assessment imposed by Kassim Ali came up to 2½ crores, and is stated by Sir John Shore to have been mere "pillage and rackrent." But this was certainly far less than what was assessed as revenue during the first year of the Decennial settlement! Yet it was a well-known fact that Kassim Ali's revenue of 2½ crores was not realized to the full extent; indeed, half of it was left outstanding and could not be recovered by any means whatsoever. Thus the assessment of the country during the first year of the perpetual settlement even went beyond the 'rackrenting' of Kassim Ali. It stood at Rs. 2,68,00,989. What, then, will be the surprise of the public when I say that the assessed land revenue of Bengal stands at the grand figure of Four Crores at the present day?

...assessment is excessive. The great patron of the ryotwar system, says that, ... is obstacle, which retards the progress of cultivation. ... is the cause of large tracts of wilderness being still found in a country naturally fertile, population would increase even faster in Hindustan than in America. In the evidence before the Lords' Committee in Parliament in 1830 it was admitted that the land-rent appeared exorbitant, but it was said at the same time that it was paid without much difficulty ! Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1831, it was asserted that nine-tenths of the revenue of the Government of India was derived from land. Dr. Hunter, in his Manuscript records of Bengal, admits that the assessment was 'high,' but qualifies it with the statement that it was not 'too high !'

The consequence of this high taxation became at once apparent. The Zemindars, unable to pay this exorbitant amount of revenue, speedily fell into arrears, and, under the stringent enactments of the Government, their estates were immediately and absolutely sold. The greater number of them were, in fact, utterly ruined. In the year 1796-97, the land advertised for sale bore a rent of Rs. 28,70,061 Sicca; and that actually sold yielded an annual rent of Rs. 14,18,756. In the year following lands bearing a rent of Rs. 22,74,076 were sold up. It is observed in the Fifth Report, p. 56, that "among the defaulters were some of the oldest and most respectable families of the country, the dismemberment of whose estates at the end of each succeeding year threatened them with poverty and ruin, and, in some instances, presented difficulties to the revenue officers in their endeavours to preserve undiminished the amount of the public assessment." Thus, in the course of a very few years, most of the great Zemindars of Bengal were reduced to distress and beggary. The Settlement produced a greater change in landed property in Bengal than has, perhaps, ever happened in the same space of time in any age or country, through the mere effect of internal regulations. (Fifth Report 1812, p. 60.) Mr. Tucker, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, 1832, affirms that, of the three largest Zemindaris, those of Rajshahi, Nadiya, and Burdwan, the whole of the first and part of the second had been sold prior to 1799, and that a very considerable number of estates passed into the hands of the merchants and bankers of Calcutta. Even as late as 1821-22, when the sales were much fewer than in the years immediately following the settlement, the number of estates sold for arrears of revenue was 396. The great severity of assessment led at last to the sale of nine-tenths of the lands of Bengal. (Evidence of Mr. Trant before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, and of Mr. Holt Mackenzie.)

Perhaps in no country in the civilized world is the land-tax so high as in India. In England the land-tax was nominally levied at 1s. in the £ of rental of an estate up to 1689*. In that year it was resolved to draw supplies from real property more largely than before. The valuation made in 1692 has remained unaltered even to our own time. According to that valuation one shilling in the pound on the rental of the kingdom amounted in round numbers to half a million sterling. The rate in time of war amounted to four shillings in the pound. In the year 1798, after the disastrous period when England drew the sword against her American colonies, this land-tax was permanently fixed at twenty per cent. of the annual value of the land. A great part of the land-tax has been redeemed; and at present about a fiftieth part of the revenue required in time of peace is raised by that impost. The land-tax at four shillings in the pound brought about two millions into the treasury.

While $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the annual value of land was appropriated under the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, only $\frac{1}{4}$ th was appropriated in England as the share of the State, or imperial revenue. The land-tax here is thus thrice that of England! A most preposterous state of things undoubtedly this is, for lands in England are of far greater value than those of this country, and agriculture there is in a far more flourishing state! In France the land-tax is an eighth of the rental of the land, but in India it is a little above half; hence it is quadruple of what it is in France.

Nowhere in European countries is the land-tax higher than a fourth of the rental, except in Turkey and Russia. In Turkey, as in most Mahommedan countries, it extends to a third, a fourth, and sometimes even a fifth, of the produce of the soil, according to its fertility. If the lands are irrigated at the State expense, then even a half of the crops is allowed as the share of the State. Russia's case is peculiar, three-fourths of her territories in Asia and one-third in Europe being either sandy deserts or frozen plains.

Briggs, in his excellent work on the Land-tax of the ancients, mentions that it was a fifth of the gross produce in Egypt and one-tenth in Greece, Persia, China and Burma.

The Permanent Settlement is the backbone of all the land-laws of Bengal. It is the keystone on which the arch of

* Land Tax since the revolution, 1688, 1s.,—1690 to 1692, 3s.,—1693 to 1697, 4s.,—1698 to 1699, 3s.,—1700, 2s.,—Additional duty, 6d.,—1701, 3s.,—1702 to 1712, 4s.,—1713 to 1715, 2s.,—1716, 4s.,—1717 to 1772, 3s., 1772 to 1786, 2s.,—1727, 4s.,—1728 to 1729, 3s.,—1730 to 1739, 2s., 1733, 1s., 1740 to 1749, 4s.,—1750 to 1752, 3s.,—1753 to 1755, 2s.,—1755 to 1766, 4s.,—1767 to 1770, 3s.,—1771 4s.,—1772 to 1775, 2s.,—(1776 to present time, 4s., (Tegg's epitome of Universal History.

all real estates and land tenures is built and rests. Regulation I of 1793 granted full and absolute rights to the Zemindars; formally declared them proprietors of the soil, and allowed them to hold possession of their lands for ever and enjoy the fruits of their improvements, on payment of a fixed yearly revenue.

It is, no doubt, often said with great force that the Permanent Settlement left the ryots entirely at the mercy of the landlords, who oppressed them in all sorts of ways for the purpose of filling their pockets. The true facts of the case, however, will convince everyone of the incorrectness of this opinion. In fact, they go to show a very contrary state of things. While the Zemindars were burdened with a most exorbitant demand of land revenue, which they had to pay as regularly as clock-work without consideration of flood, drought or famine, they had hardly any means of realizing rents from their tenants. "Land-holders had no direct control over them: they could not proceed against them, except through the Courts of Justice: and the ends of substantial justice were defeated by delays and costs of suit. Farmers and intermediate tenants were able to withhold their rents with impunity, and to set the authority of their landlords at defiance" (Fifth Report, 1812; p. 60.) In another part of the same document the Collector of an important district says:—

"It was notorious that many of the Zemindars had large arrears of rent due to them which they were utterly unable to recover, while Government were selling their lands for arrears of assessment. Complaints of the inefficacy of the regulations were very general among the Zemindars; and it required little discernment to see that they had not the same powers over their tenants which Government exercised over them."

The harsh and extortionate terms of the Permanent Settlement, combined with the obstinacy of the tenants in withholding rents, brought on speedily the ruin of the landed aristocracy of old. It was not the protection of the ryots, but of the Zemindars, that became absolutely necessary, and Government set itself to legislating about it. But the legislation came too late!

The resumption of vast tracts of waste land and jungles and of numberless revenue-free tenures, granted by Mahomedan and Hindu Sovereigns, was another injustice and hardship inflicted on the Zemindars. Mr. Rickards observes on this point. "It was really the intention of Lord Cornwallis to include in the Permanent Settlement all those lands which were fertile and extensive, and which, yielding, when improved, a valuable produce, would enable the Zemindar to pay the

exorbitant tax on the cultivated parts. When it was discovered that the Zemindars were enriching themselves by the cultivation of these untaxed wastes, it seems to have excited a notion amongst the British that they had got too good a bargain. Accordingly doubts were suggested respecting the rights of the Zemindars to these lands. Inquiries were from time to time made, and commissioners were appointed, apparently with no other view than to find a flaw in the titles of the Zemindars and to resume or to seize upon these lands, the cultivation of which was the source of so great a wealth. These inquiries, conducted by those who had an interest in the confiscation of the lands, terminated as might have been expected. Those which were exempted from taxation were now resumed and assessed; and the Zemindar had his remedy in a suit against the Government before the British revenue courts, which generally gave judgment against him. It is mentioned in evidence before the Lords' Committee that the proprietor of a great estate in the Sunderbunds, who had brought into cultivation an extensive waste, was called upon, notwithstanding the permanent settlement of the land tax, to pay an additional tax on the produce of this land. He disputed the claim: but, being cast in a suit before the revenue courts, he was subjected to ryotwar settlement and compelled to pay fifty times more than the original rent. (Minutes of Evidence before Lord's Committee, 20th February, 1830. Evidence of Mangles, p. 49.)

In these resumption cases, the resuming officer received a commission on the value of the lands resumed and brought on the taujih or revenue-roll register. (Administration of Hooghly District. By G. Toynbee, C.S., p. 68.) Clearly these officers were most interested in giving judgments against the landholders, and how far real justice could be done in such cases can be better imagined than described.

Mr. Marshman, the historian, writing about these resumption proceedings, says: "There can be no doubt that the resumption of these lands, or rather of the rent of them, inflicted great unpopularity on the Government at the time: but the irritation did not outlive the generation affected by them. The addition made to the rent-roll of the State by this procedure, amounted to about Thirty lakhs of rupees a year, while the machinery of investigation cost Eighty lakhs."

Regulation II of 1819, well-known in the province as "Doem Kanun," was followed by others—IX and XIV of 1825, and III of 1828. They governed these resumption proceedings.

The number of revenue-free estates in Bengal comes up to 44,663, and the amount of cesses realized from them is Rs. 2,69,040. They were originally given by Indian Sovereigns.

for some pious purpose, such as the endowment of a temple or mosque, or the encouragement of learning.

The reward of some splendid and meritorious service to the State, especially for military achievements, often consisted in grants of such lands in ancient times.

It is not generally known in this country how far feudalism was prevalent here, and moulded the land-tenures of this province. When the Aryans came here, they were mere military adventurers. They assembled their followers and kinsmen, and, having conquered extensive tracts, parcelled them out amongst their chiefs, very much upon the plan of a military fief. Such is the case with the greater part of the Zemindaris along the Western frontier of Bengal, where, while the peasantry are mostly of the wild forest tribes, Koles or Gonds, the proprietors of the villages are Rajputs. That these latter came as conquerors as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is well-known amongst themselves, and the origin of their possessions by allotment from the chief on the tenure of military service is also admitted. The relation between the holders of the several lots and the representatives of the first leaders, or the Rajas, is more or less perfectly preserved, and retains almost universally some impress of its origin. A similar state of things prevails in Palamu, Sirguja, Chota Nagpur, and elsewhere in the same direction. Mr. Augustus Prinsep, of the Bengal Civil Service, in his interesting account of the origin and progress of the feudal Zemindari of Palamu, says that similar feudal institutions may be seen in many of the Zemindaris of Bengal and Behar. During the course of the inquiry preceding the Permanent Settlement, it was found that the Pergunnah of Monghyr was divided among the descendants of two Rajputs, to whom the family tradition ascribed the first settlement of the country under grants from the Emperor Humayoon, having taken it from the wild inhabitants of the wilderness, which was then without the smallest vestige of cultivation. (5th Report 238. Letter of Mr. Davis, Assistant Collector.)

The British Government has also maintained its feudal sovereignty with respect to the chiefs of these divisions. The revenue settlement of Chota Nappur is merely a nominal system, the Zemindars holding the lands under previous arrangements of military service, which were necessary for the purpose of keeping in check the wild and fierce tribes of those places. This large division, with its immense forests and hills, its capabilities as a seat of mining industries and a wide field of commercial enterprise, pays a sum of about Four lacs only as revenue to Government, while Bengal pays no less than two and half crores and Bihar one and one-fifth crores. The Zemindars of Orissa

are also the representatives of feudal chiefs, holding their lands by the tenure of military service: (Asiatic Researches IV, 229) But there is no permanent settlement in Orissa.

It is a significant fact that, wherever feudalism was in existence, there the masses and the cultivators were reduced to serfdom. This exactly took place in Chota Nagpur, where the insurrection of the Koles was due to the conduct of the Zemindars who strictly insisted on the performance of pre-dial services.

CHAPTER II.

The Sale Law and the Cesses.

Of all the measures affecting the landed interests in this country, there is none more harsh or severe than the Revenue Sale Law. It is a Draconian Code which is administered in a way little to be desired. No matter whether you have realized your rents from your tenants or not, you must pay every pice of the exorbitant land revenue before sun-set of the fixed day of payment, or your property will be sold out! Once you are in arrears, you can't pay the money before the sale day; that is an imperative rule. Be it a pice or ten thousand rupees, it is all the same; the estate will be sold on that fatal day, and even if it goes for a song, you can't bid for it, nor can you advance your arrears for satisfaction! There are a few Collectors, whom God in his infinite mercy has created with an exuberance of the milk of human kindness, who do take money even after the day fixed for payment. But they are exceptions to the rule. The Civil Courts are generally as powerless to interfere as the man in the moon. Their jurisdiction is of an extremely limited kind. You must bring the suit within a year of the finality of the sale, and your grounds must have been set out in the petition of appeal before the Divisional Commissioner; for no sale can be set aside by the Civil Court, unless such appeal has been preferred and the grounds specifically taken. If the purchaser has taken out a certificate of sale, you are lost! The taking out of a certificate cures all sorts of irregularities. Even irregularities are not sufficient to vitiate a sale. It must be shown to be illegal, and you must prove substantial injury and hardship before you can get the sale set aside in the Civil, or revenue Court. Mr. Beames, late of the Revenue Board, was in charge of the amending of the Revenue Sale Law some years ago. The bill was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* and one salutary provision was inserted in it, to the effect that any defaulter paying the arrears of revenue due before the day of sale would be entitled

to do so, provided he paid a penalty equal to one-fourth of the amount of the arrears. The penalty was, no doubt, an excessive and exorbitant amount, but still this provision would do a great deal in mitigating the hardship of unlucky Zemindars. Sales of estates whose revenue falls below 500 rupees, are never Gazetted. Hence, cases often occur, where in sales take place without the slightest knowledge of the owners!

One might think that, with the rigorous provisions of the "Sunset Law" and the heavy burden of revenue on their backs, the evils of the Zemindar class were sufficient unto the day thereof! The Permanent Settlement, which was ushered in with all the solemnity of a sacred covenant, was not kept permanent for long. The proclamation issued on the 22nd March, 1793, said that "the assessment was irrevocable and unalterable!" But in 1862 the Government imposed the Zemindari Dāk Cess, for improving the system of delivery of letters between Police officers and Police stations Magisterial offices. Now, when there is hardly a village in the most out-of-the-way place in mofussil where there is not a post office either within or close to it, the necessity for keeping up this tax, which is really an addition to the land revenue, no longer exists. It is levied even with greater rigour than the land revenue itself. It has to be paid half-yearly, and double the amount is to be paid in case of default! It will probably amuse many to learn that the big clock which now adorns the southern portion of the General Post Office building in Calcutta, was constructed out of the proceeds of the Dāk Cess levied from the land-holders of Bengal! In the very first year of the existence of the Bengal Council, the Zemindary Dāk Bill came up for discussion. Both Mr. Peterson and Prosunno Coomar Tagore described it as a "police tax." The then Advocate General, Mr. Cowie, said that he could not understand upon what principle a charge rendered necessary for public purposes of a district, having relation, as it had, to the carrying out of criminal justice, should be a burden upon a section rather than upon the whole of the land-holders of the district. A section, moreover, was introduced into the Bill, at the instance of the Zemindars, to the effect that Zemindary dāks should not be established or maintained where Government dāks existed. The 4th Section was accordingly introduced by Mr. Cowie, and the Bill was passed. With the rapid extension of communications in the province by means of rail and river and the establishment of Government Post Offices throughout the country, the Dāk Cess is an anachronism in many places at the present moment; yet, instead of the burden being reduced gradually, it is being made heavier year after

year. It is anything but fair that an obligation for the performance of a service which in a rude state of Society was discharged by the Zemindar's own servants and without any expense or trouble to themselves, should be converted into a permanent means of increasing the general revenues of the country at the present time, when Government Post Offices do the very same service far more quickly and efficiently and at the same time without any additional cost to the State exchequer. In the district of Burdwan this Cess amounted in 1859 to Rs. 2,880, but in 1879-80 it was raised to Rs. 6,397. The receipts on account of the District Post Cess came up to Rs. 3,13,666 in 1872-73, and the total sum levied in 1895-96 was Rs. 3,35,996, being an increase of more than Rs. 20,000! The Administration Reports are studiously silent as to the proper working of this Act VIII of 1862, or as to the rate at which the Dāk Cess is levied and enhanced at the end of every quinquennial year. This Cess is not recoverable from ryots or tenants unless there is a special contract.

But the solemn deed of the Permanent Settlement was reduced to a farce when, in 1871, after the lapse of nearly a century, the Road and Public Work Cesses were imposed on the people of Bengal, in the face of unanimous opposition from Zemindars and ryots alike. In spite of all specious arguments to convince them that it was not a violation of the settlement, they were never convinced, for it touched their pockets. It took away one-sixteenth of the income of their estates at one stroke of the legislative pen. The plea put forward was that the Zemindars had failed to carry out improvements in their estates, and hence State interference was necessary. The Cesses were levied evidently for the construction and repairs of roads. Considering that the Zemindars of Bengal have spent on works of public utility and charity an amount of money which in many instances is far beyond their circumstances and which will on comparison be found to be far more than has been spent by the landholding classes of any country in the world—not even England excepted—the plea put forward for the intervention of Government was a miserable one. There is not a road in a district which has not been constructed at the cost of the Zemindars! Notwithstanding the Duke of Argyll's able despatch to justify this taxation on the ground of its not being in violation of the terms of the Permanent Settlement, the land-holders and ryots as a body rightly considered that it involved a serious breach of faith and a cruel mockery of private rights, calculated to inflict a deep wound on their future welfare and prosperity. These Cesses are now paid

almost simultaneously with the land revenue, and all arrears are charged at the rate of 12 per cent. interest per annum.

The Road and Public Works Cess valuation rolls are prepared in the most perfunctory manner. Sometimes the parties come to know nothing about it, and the Deputy Collector and his underlings do whatever they think proper. Instances are not rare where estates have been valued at double their proper valuations, and this increased rate realised for a long time. We often find most valuable estates sold for nothing by the Road Cess Department for arrears due, the owners knowing nothing about it. People never get proper notice!

At each revaluation at the end of every five years the amount of cesses is increased by leaps and bounds. The law is that it can be increased only if the returns made by landholders show an increment. But the cess office discredits these returns in innumerable cases at its sweet will simply to swell the amount of cesses and show to Government the *good* work done by it. This rose-coloured valuation roll then serves as a public guide; it is published in the Government Gazette and comments are made in administration reports on the growing prosperity of the landlord class and the heartless mode of their squeezing the tenantry!

To add to their misfortune, the Zemindars have been saddled recently with the burden of the cesses on rent free lands. So long this amount was being realized by Government direct from the holders; but being unable to do this any longer on account of the extreme uncertainty of their existence, which is more or less the product of the imagination of the official brain, the Government conceived the benevolent intention of shifting this burden suddenly on to the landholders and remunerating the latter with a liberal commission of 50 per cent. on the realized amount! The Zemindars have to pay the cesses in the first instance and recover it afterwards by suits. As a matter of fact not a single pice is realized in many cases, and they have to pay the whole of this amount out of their own pocket? The Hon'ble Dampier thus writes on the subject:—The duty thus imposed on the Zemindars was found to be burdensome and most distasteful. Items recoverable were often unknown, and the amount of many was so trifling as to make many of them not worth collection. In one case which I came across it could not be represented in any coin. Lakhirajdars are not in the position of ryots, but are independent and in a normal state of antagonism to the Zemindars'.

The Road and Public Works Cesses realized from Bengal amounted to Rs. 83,21,993 in 1895-96. One of the most salutary provisions now introduced into the Cess Act is that the debtor can, by paying the arrears of Cess on the 30th day

after sale, with a penalty of 5 per cent. on it, get the sale set aside and the property restored.

But all this will appear a mere flea-bite in comparison with the great hardships suffered by the landlords and tenants of those parts of the province where the so-called blessings of artificial irrigation and drainage have been introduced by Government. The costs incurred for their construction are simply enormous, and, I dare say, nowhere has the Public Works (Waste) Department frittered away money more wrecklessly and imprudently than here in Bengal. I shall take into consideration the first scheme that was taken in hand by it—the Dankuni Drainage Work. The work cost about four lakhs of rupees; but, I believe, no less an amount than six lakhs of rupees was realised from the public, including interest at 5 per cent. and costs of repairs and maintenance. At first these four lakhs of rupees were apportioned out amongst the Zemindars of the place whose lands were benefited by the drainage, and thus their liabilities were settled. The rule is that, if any owner cannot pay these charges at once, he is allowed to enter into an engagement with the Collector of the district for payment by instalments with 5 per cent. interest per annum within the space of ten years. After some instalments had been paid, defalcations of a very heavy amount took place in the Department. Immediately a clean sweep of all the ministerial officers of the Department was made by the Collector and fresh blood imported from outside. After four or five years, when interest had accumulated to the extent of one-fourth of the principal outlay, vigorous efforts were made for the realisation of the whole money. In the meantime the engagements bonds were mostly lost and the account books were in a state of hopeless muddle. But the whole matter was* placed in the hands of a Deputy-Collector of the old Campbell School, who was bent on realising this money by any means. Drastic measures were at once taken, and people of high position, wealth and respectability were threatened with bodily arrest by warrant, unless the money due was paid off. The drainage is the first charge on the land, and owners asked the Collector to sell their estates, along with the worthless improvements made by the drainage works. But the Collector would do no such thing, as he knew full well that the exorbitant charges would in no case be covered by such a sale! A landholder who sold away his land to another, was put under arrest for several hours

* This Deputy has been in the district for the last ten years at least and his unpopularity has become quite phenomenal. He should have been transferred long ago according to the rules of the service, especially as he has his family residence at Hooghly.

because he would not pay the money. Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore and the Maharajah of Dighapatya, who purchased a valuable property worth five lakhs of rupees, were saddled with a drainage charge of no less than two lakhs of rupees, including the cost of the Howrah and Rajapur drainage. They paid as much as they could, till even such Croesuses could pay no more. Like ordinary mortals, they, too, had to enter into engagements with the Collector. It was found at last, that a good deal of money had been taken by the Deputy-Collector twice over from them. Repayment was politely asked for, but was refused. Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore was obliged at last to bring a civil suit to get back the money, and after much money and time had been spent in prosecuting the suit, it was fully decreed, with interest and costs against the Government.

Knowing the iniquity of their proceedings, the Government could not muster courage to file an appeal in that case to the High Court! But how many village landholders had the same means and courage as Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, and the credit of exposing the abuses of the Drainage Department before a Court of Justice was left to him! As for other petty Zemindars, they were simply brought to the verge of poverty and ruin. The proceedings of the Hooghly Drainage Department with reference to the realisation of the charges incurred in the Dankuni drainage construction are simply a record of havoc and devastation. Hardly a single petty landholder remains in possession of his property. The drainage charges were out of all proportion to the benefits derived, and to pay large sums of money with heavy interest at 5 per cent. to Government after the lapse of ten years, the ordinary term of the engagement, and sometimes more than that, was simply impossible. The interest alone came up to more than half the original amount due for the drainage. Add to this the costs of Government. But Government money, good or bad, must be realised some how! Claims which the account books showed were satisfied years ago, were revived all on a sudden, and the Deputy-Collector, when asked the reason for it, calmly replied that the word "payment" was written by mistake! People did not know by whom the money was paid! Co-sharers of an infinitesimally small part of a Zemindari were saddled with the entire drainage charges of it and the whole sum was forcibly realised from them alone. This arbitrary system of realisation gave rise to an amount of oppression which has hardly had any parallel in the history of the Civil Administration of any district. On appeal before the Collector, the petty Zemindars fared equally ill, or rather worse! In one case, wherein the party was one of the millionaires of the

district, the Collector glibly wrote an order to the effect:—
 "Put him in to jail and he will pay the money! The drainage of Howrah and Rajapore has cost nearly twelve lakhs of rupees, and no one knows what is in store for the people. No one would like to see the bitter experience of the past repeated! With regard to one Zemindari, I personally know that a drainage charge of about two lakhs of rupees has been imposed on it! The Zemindar, one of the richest men in the district, has, however, been unable to pay anything up to now on account of these enormous drainage charges. Whatever money he has paid, and he has paid a pretty large amount, has gone mostly in liquidation of interest! What a pretty position! The Ampta and Madaria drainage is estimated to cost Rs. 9,50,359! The Executive Engineer considered not only that this was a most costly scheme, but that it was not at all necessary. Still it is being pushed on! We have also other irrigation works in Bengal. They are constructed in the delta of Orissa, where they form an extensive system of canals, and in the South of Behar, where the flood discharge of the Son has been intercepted to irrigate lands comparatively thirsty along the south banks of the Ganges.

Are these works a necessity? To this question there is only one answer, and that is a strong negative. This is the testimony of not only the large body of Zemindars and ryots all over the province, but of some of the most experienced and able officials.

Dr. Hunter says:—"In Sindh irrigation is an absolute necessity; in Lower Bengal it may be regarded almost as a luxury!" Mr. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, thus writes about such works in his interesting *brochure* "New India."—"If some of the great irrigation works, specially in Southern India, have been magnificently successful, it is no less the case that irrigation projects have been extended to tracts of country where they are altogether unnecessary and unsuitable, while the interest payable on the cost of their construction remains a heavy annual tax on provinces which can profit nothing from them. These works are too often a source of oppression to the people whose lands are irrigated."

That is also the opinion of Mr. Skrine, who, in his "Laborious Days," says:—"In Bengal Proper, with the sole exception of South Bihar, irrigation by means of canals has been a failure!" I shall quote here below a couple of frankly damning statements regarding these irrigation schemes from the administration reports of District Officers themselves. The Collector of Hooghly writes thus about the Rajapur drainage:—

"Last year was one of unprecedented and continual rain

during May, June and July. Paddy, which was twice transplanted, was twice destroyed, and it was not till the middle and end of August that the level of water in different drainage basins was sufficiently reduced and transplantation completed for the third time." (*Calcutta Gazette*, 1895-96.) Now what is the good of these costly drainage schemes if water cannot be drained off and transplantation of paddy successfully carried out by the cultivators at an early stage. The same officer writes "crops in portions of the Dankuni basin are reported to have not been good, as the sluices are said not to have worked properly." (*Calcutta Gazette* 1895-96).

"Irrigation revenue demands were enforced mostly by the process of law, the people resisting them to the last. The recoveries of arrears of former years were so vigorously carried on, that the actual collections exceeded those of any previous year, except 1874-75. It is impossible to record this result with any satisfaction, as it seems certain that the arrears and the difficulty of enforcing payment were mainly, if not solely, due to the extreme poverty of the people. It is melancholy to read of 12,714 certificates having been issued for the recovery of arrears, after abandoning all claims for less than one rupee, and making remissions on other grounds; and this is a district where irrigators have, as a rule, dealt fairly with the Government, and have always been ready to pay when they had the means. One can hardly read the description of the revenue operations of the year, and, it may be added, of previous years, without a wish that if the state of the cultivators is such as it is described to be by the Collector and his subordinates, irrigation, which, according to them, only enhances the difficulties of the people in ordinary times, had never been introduced at all." (*Irrigation Revenue Report*, 1976-77).

I do not like to dwell much on the the general advantages and disadvantages of canal irrigation in India. It is now the opinion of many high and responsible officials and non-officials that irrigation of that sort merely acts as a stimulant for a short time and eventually reduced the productive powers of the land. Lieut.-Colonel Corbett in his book entitled "Climate and Resources of Upper India," writes:—"Canal plant grows too quickly; it is, in fact, forced, and it consequently cannot draw sufficient support from the soil fast enough to keep pace with its rapid growth. The produce gets worse as the soil becomes more exhausted!"

It is said that irrigation does temporary and precarious benefit at the cost of the permanent sterilising of the soil.

I shall close this subject with the following gloomy picture of the effects of irrigation in Upper India:—"While our canals had been ruining the fields of the cultivators, our tax-

collecting machinery had been grinding on, as if nothing had happened to alter the condition of the cultivators. To meet our demands, these villagers had had recourse to every device which the ingenuity of misery could suggest. They had borrowed money at extravagant rates of interest. They had become the mere farm-slaves of the money-lenders residing in their villages. They had sold the trees on their estates. They had sold their daughters, their silver ornaments, their brass utensils, as many of their cattle as they could spare, and even the rafters of their houses."

This is the testimony of no less an officer than Mr. Sherer, of the Indian Civil Service, who was deputed by Government to visit the distressed districts and report upon the condition of the people and the soil! It is a pity to add a single word to it!

Drainage and irrigation charges are often imposed with impunity even on those who are not in the least benefited by them and whose lands are situated as far from the canals as the East is from the West! By the drainage of swamps the fish supply in the Hooghly district has been immensely diminished!

That most unpopular of taxes the Income Tax is slowly but surely encroaching on the profits of the land-holding class. The law has excluded all agricultural lands and profits from its fearful grip! But the elastic conscience of the Income Tax department can find loop-holes everywhere. No Zemindari can exist without markets and fisheries! A Deputy Collector, who has grown wise in his generation in the work of this cursed department, told me seriously that he always assessed the income-tax from non-agricultural sources at an eighth of the net income of every estate! How grossly unfair! Every corn-field teems with fish during the greater part of the year and is hence assessable! Markets in the out-of-way mofussil, save and except in rare cases, bring in but a small pittance! To bring these within the purview of the Income Tax Act is nothing short of a Machiavellian policy!

Last, but not least, an education Cess is hanging like a Damocles' sword over the head of the land-holding class! We are only waiting to see when it falls, and fall it *will* one day or another, with a terrible crash! All the public bodies consulted have protested with one voice against its imposition, but it will be imposed all the same, for when has Government acceded to the wishes of the people where its revenue is concerned? This Cess is for the education of the masses—a perfect hallucination for the fire-brand and the patriot! They are only waiting for an opportunity to introduce it. But for plague, pestilence and famine, the bolt would have fallen on our head long ago!

Education, however, will have very little effect on the masses if their health is not properly looked after. The Government by its recent legislation can levy water-rate on land-holders with impunity for the benefit of the tenants. *Mens sana in Corpore sano*: It is very good of Government to legislate in these matters. But is there none else save the Zemindar to pay? Mass Education forsooth! Already the Zemindars are supporting nearly all the educational institutions of the country by establishing schools and colleges and *pat-shalas*; and the District Board funds are being largely utilized for the encouragement and extension of primary education throughout the country! By the digging of tanks, wells and reservoirs and by constructing canals in East Bengal at their own cost, they have done a great deal towards the supply of pure water in the villages of every district. But still the Government is not satisfied and will not rest content until they lose all sympathy with the people by making them act under compulsion!

Lét any one look at the numerous blessings in the shape of taxes, enumerated above, that have come down from the Government to the Zemindar body, and say whether they are not far too crushing and onerous for any community in any country in the world to bear! That the Zemindars of the present day still stand the strain of these taxes is more than a wonder!

That the assessment of land revenue in Bengal under the permanent Settlement was high, is admitted even by many Indian historians. Mr. Marshan, whose views towards the rulers of this country during John Company's administration were always animated with a sense of high admiration, writes thus about the revenue settlement of 1793:—"Before dismissing the subject it may be worthy of remark, that, with all his benevolent and generous sympathies for the natives, Lord Cornwallis was not able to advance beyond the traditional creed of England, that all her colonial and foreign possessions were to be administered primarily and emphatically for her benefit. No effort was to be spared to secure the protection, the improvement, and the happiness of the people; but it was with an eye exclusively to the credit and the interests of the governing power. He closes his great minute on the permanent settlement with this characteristic remark: 'The real value of Bengal and Bihar to Britain depends on the continuance of its ability to furnish a large Annual investment to Europe, to assist in providing an investment for China, and to supply the pressing wants of the other presidencies.'"

This "traditional creed" is no new thing. It has been said and sung in blank verse by Cowper, "Disinterested good is not our trade!"

Bishop Heber, writing about the assessment made at the Permanent Settlement, says that even as far as the Zemindars were concerned, it was extremely unequal, and in many instances oppressive and ruinously high.

The same high and excessive assessment was fixed in other parts of the country wherever the Zemindary Settlement was introduced subsequent to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In Benares and Oudh, the tax was raised from its amount in 1801, of 13,52,347 Sicca rupees, to a sum of 19,16,148 Sicca rupees, being an increase on the existing tax of more than 40 per cent., and a foretaste to the oppressed peasantry of the blessings they were to derive from British rule.

We all know that the ryotwari settlement was introduced in parts of this country avowedly for the good of the masses. But it is really startling to read the description of it given by no less an individual than Colonel Munro, the great patron of that form of settlement :—“ Was the assessment fixed the highest assessment which it was thought fit in any case to exact for the land? Yes. It was a maximum assessment, which was never expected to be wholly raised; it was an assessment, the total of which was avowedly too high at the time to be realised, without occasional and partial remissions; and it was recommended afterwards to be reduced. Was any abatement made? No.” (Evidence before Lord’s Committee March 30, 1830. p. 176.)

How recklessly the revenues of this country have oftentimes been settled under the freedom-fostering rule of the British Government can be well imagined from perusing the following, which I take from Mr. F. H. Skrine’s *Laborious Days*, page 45 :—“ The author of the first settlement of land-revenue of Hoshangabad, who held the title of Political Officer, was one of those sanguine men who believe that peace and security attract capital and increased population as if by magic. Under this impression he raised the revenue of Hoshangabad proper by seventy-three per cent. in the first year, and so *crescendo* till the demand for the fifth year was fifty per cent. above that exorbitant total. The case of Seoni, immortalized by Sterndale’s facile pen, was even worse. The demand there was screwed up from Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 1,39,000 in five years! The unhappy Zemindars were, of course, unable to satisfy these claims, and the exactions and cruelties which followed, must have made the people look back on the Pindari raids with something like regret!”

The opinion of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, in his *New India*, regarding the excessive assessments of land revenue is so sincere and weighty that I cannot help quoting it here. This is what he says :—

“ So it has come to pass that the action of Government has

occasioned the most widespread dissatisfaction and discontent, that, in hundreds and thousands of cases, the Government has been plunged into litigation with its own tenantry, that the principal officers of the Revenue Department have been mobbed by despairing ryots in the streets of Calcutta, and that it has become necessary to revise the settlements, reduce the assessments, and remit revenue demands which ought never to have been made."

Take also, by way of illustration, the following extract from Dr. Buchanan's *Statistical Survey*, Book IV. Chapter VII, on the district of Dinagepore, which is quoted in the Fifth Report (1812):—

"The natives allege that although they were often squeezed by the Moghul officers, they preferred it to the mode that has been adopted of selling their lands when they fall into arrears, which is a practice they cannot endure. Besides, bribery went a great way on most occasions, and they allege that, bribes included, they did not actually pay one-half of what they do now."

If the assessments are so high where the boon of a Permanent Settlement exists, what is the state of things where it does not? The assessments are increased at regular intervals, and what is the result? I shall answer this in the words of Mr. Cotton: "If, so surely as production increases, the Government demand be increased also, it is impossible to expect that the peasantry will labour for the improvement of the land or the extension of cultivation. There is no sense of security, which alone will attract capital and intelligence to agriculture. A bare margin for subsistence alone remains, and the result is that indebtedness extends year by year, and that famines recur with ever-increasing frequency and severity."

In Orissa, Chittagong and some other parts of Bengal where the permanent settlement has not been introduced, this is exactly the state of things. In the North-West Provinces, Punjab and Central India it is worse!

But how have the landowners of the settled tracts in Bengal discharged their duties towards their ryots and the public? History in its fulness of time has given its verdict, and I quote from a modern historian of India on that point:—"Under the genial influence of this territorial charter (Permanent Settlement) population has increased, cultivation has been extended, and a gradual improvement has become visible in the habits and comforts of the people; and the revenue of the provinces of Bengal and Behar have increased to fourteen crores of rupees a year, of which only four crores are derived from the lands."

It is now admitted beyond question that, but for the exertions of the Zemindars, Bengal would never have become as

prosperous, as advanced and as contented as it is now. It was through their exertions that the reed and the bulrush made way for the rice-crop. The jungle retreated before the axe and the plough. The swamp became firm land. In felling forests, reclaiming waste lands and swamps, and building roads, bridges and canals, they have spent an amount of money which few private citizens have done in any part of the civilized world. The Government of India has freely endorsed this view and publicly made the following announcements in the *India Gazette* of 20th October 1883:—"The Bengal of to-day offers a startling contrast to the Bengal of 1793; the wealth and prosperity of the country have marvellously increased—increased beyond all precedent under the permanent settlement. A great portion of this increase is due to the Zemindari body as a whole, and they have been very active and powerful factors in the development of this prosperity."

Gibbon, in his history of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," says that the rapacious ministers of Constantine had exhausted the wealth of Gaul, by exacting twenty-five pieces of gold for the annual tribute of every head as land-tax. The humane policy of his successor reduced the capitation to seven pieces. A moderate proportion between these opposite extremes of extravagant oppression and of transient indulgence, may therefore be fixed at sixteen pieces of gold, or about nine pounds sterling, the common standard, perhaps, of the impositions of Gaul. As the rolls of tribute were filled only with the names of those citizens who possessed the means of an honourable, or at least of a decent, subsistence, the comparative smallness of their numbers explains and justifies the high rate of their capitation, (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Chap. XVII, p. 254.)

Now let us compare this with the land-tax which the Zemindars of Bengal have to pay. The number of revenue-paying estates is 203,259, and the amount of revenue paid is about four crores, which, with the Road and Public Work Cesses and the Dāk Cesses payable on them, comes to about five crores. This will give about Rs. 250, or £25*, as the annual tribute of every head. Now it is clearly more than double of what Constantine used to realize from Gaul, and for this the emperor has been branded as a rapacious monarch in history! What would that great historian have said had he lived in this age and surveyed the panorama of land-tax in British India, as imposed by the Government?

* The equivalent of Rs. 250 in sterling, at the present day, is not £25, but £16-13s-4d. In his comparison of the actual and original amounts of the land revenue of Bengal, the writer similarly overlooks the fall in the value of the rupee.—ED. C. R.

In England there are 972,836 landowners, and the land-tax which they pay to Government is only two millions sterling. This will give about £2 as the annual tribute per head in that country for land-tax. It is a strange anomaly that a Bengal Zemindar has to pay as capitation-tax for land no less than twelve times what an English land-holder pays! Yet we know for certain how enormously rich are the English landlords in comparison with their poor brethren in Bengal!

I have sufficiently shown that it is not only in Bengal that this land-tax is exorbitant, but it is so everywhere in this country; far more so where the "boon" of a Permanent Settlement has not been conferred.

Has this enormous demand been ever remitted, even during times of famine, flood and drought? Never, as a rule. On the other hand, no less sympathetic a ruler than Lord Ripon wrote a strong Minute on this subject, and it was decided that demands of land revenue can only be suspended at the most to be realized again at nearly seven per cent. interest per annum as arrears. So that, instead of remissions of revenue having ever been made, steps have always been taken to realize it at an advanced rate even in times of utmost distress.

Here are some cases of hardship which are still hanging fire in Hooghly, showing the arbitrary and oppressive way in which Government can proceed to realize its land revenue. The facts are as follow:—In Hooghly defalcations of a very large amount of Government revenue took place from the Collectorate treasury some time ago. The man in charge of the revenue department who did away with most of this money, was brought to trial and convicted. Government, anxious to realize the defalcated amount, gave notice to many of the Zamindars that, unless they could produce their revenue receipts they would be held liable for these arrears, and their estates would be up if the money due was not paid! As these arrears extend over no less a period than twelve years or more, it is more than probable that the revenue receipts in many cases are not forthcoming. The duplicate receipts have all been destroyed in the Collectorate, as the rule is to destroy them after the lapse of every three years! Is it fair for Government to call on the Zamindars for payment at such a distant date, especially when it is highly probable that the money has been embezzled by its own officers? In ordinary cases every estate which falls into arrears, is speedily brought to public sale before the next instalment of revenue becomes due. Why has this rule been departed from in these cases, and arrears accumulating for several years kept in abeyance? The claim is such a trump one that the Government has not yet ventured to ⁴¹ touch most of these estates. What an unnecessary harassment to

the landholders for the fault, not of themselves, but of the Government officers! The treasury had been robbed under their very nose, and systematic jobbery for a series of years has been going on in the revenue department. The Government of Bengal, perhaps, with full consciousness of the fraud perpetrated by its own men, coolly makes the following remarks in its administration report of 1895-96:—"A net discrepancy of Rs. 46,510 was discovered between the figures of the Estates Ledger, and those of the Accountants' Register of Land Revenue, of which amount Government has been defrauded. The French Government had regularly paid land revenue for their estates in Chandernagore to the late tauzinavis, who misappropriated the whole or part of a sum of Rs. 6,541 paid to him on this account. This Government has no claim upon the French Government for the sum which he embezzled. With the other Zemindars, against whose estates short payments have been found, the case is different, and it has been decided to call upon them to make good the arrears, and, failing payment, to sell their estates."

I conclude this Chapter with the observations of no less a person than Sir William Hunter in his paper on India and Great Britain, about the land tax in India:—"The vast bulk of the revenue of the land, which in England finds its way into the pockets of private individuals, belongs in India to the Government. India comes very near Henry George's ideal of the one-tax State. In India the land-tax is the greatest of all taxes, the mainstay of the revenue."

ICH DIEN.

ART. XI.—WHY THE NATIVE PRESS SHOULD
BE LICENSED.

THE radical and unalterable reason why an unlicensed press is successful in England and the reverse in India, is to be found in the simple fact that in England the people are free and homogeneous, in India they are subject and heterogeneous. Principles which apply in a free western nation, obviously need not necessarily apply, and probably will not apply, to an altogether anomalous rule like that of the English in India. Every school boy is acquainted with Milton's magnificent pleading for a Free press. Given the conditions with which he had to deal, his arguments are unanswerable. But it hardly needs higher intelligence than that of the average school boy to perceive that the same arguments are entirely fallacious when used to support a Free press in India. Milton's basic proposition was that Truth stands in no need of artificial safeguards. Closely allied with this was an implied and perfectly justifiable belief that free discussion in the England of his day had for its object the discovery and maintenance of truth. Errors and excesses in one direction would be corrected by sober counsels in the other. Even the inflammatory effect of seditious and mischievous opinion upon the mind of the nation at large was not greatly to be feared, because the nation, as a whole, was vitally interested in maintaining the best form of Government, the highest political ideals, consonant with its native genius. Even in a country so fortunately situated as England, where the principles of rational liberty earliest took firm root, where a sturdy independence of character disciplined by an intensely law-abiding spirit, combined with high daring and a well-regulated conscience, to form, if not quite the highest type, certainly one of the highest types of civilised man; even under conditions so favourable, it may very well be doubted whether Milton's great genius could have discovered adequate arguments in favour of allowing absolute freedom to a Jacobite press at the close of the Stuart dynasty. It is obvious that in the disturbed and angry state of parties at that time, seditious and malignant attacks upon constituted authority originating in a fixed opinion irreconcilably hostile to the Crown, must have been dangerous to the general peace, must have deliberately courted more serious mischief than could be counterbalanced by temporarily violating a venerable sentiment. No doubt the Law as then administered was active enough and powerful enough to deal exemplarily with offenders who mistook license for liberty. And where the law of the

country expresses with reasonable accuracy the sense of the people, it can be trusted to vindicate popular disapproval of the ravings of a dangerous minority. For that reason, perhaps, as much as for any other, the English people has never been in any serious risk of suffering from its inflexible adhesion to its beloved privileges. The freedom of the press was, by no means, among the earliest of them; it did not become a part so to speak of the national character, till that character had developed and been trained by severe discipline to understand, and not to abuse, it. No one is better aware than the average Englishman, that his beloved privilege of free speech ought to be under certain restrictions, chief among which are, that any proportion of truth which it may contain shall not be altogether outweighed by the danger it occasions to the public, and that, if the subject is at all material, it is essential that there should be valid grounds in the mind of the person raising it for believing in its truth. If it could be supposed that an influential section of the English press should give itself up to disseminating systematically seditious and dangerous falsehoods, no one doubts what view the British public would very soon and very sternly take of the conduct of such journals. It is, therefore, principally on account of idiosyncratic qualities, largely peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon race, that a Free press becomes among them a valued and a useful institution. Not a single reason of the same kind can truly be advanced in support of the Free Vernacular press of India.

In the first place the danger always in some degree inseparable from the existence of a Free press, the danger of inflaming the masses against authority, is infinitesimal in England, while in India it is real and serious. In England the people choose their own rulers, and have every means of seeing that they are well and justly governed. The risk of inciting disaffection in any large body of the people is quite too remote to need consideration. There is no race division; all are alike Englishmen, proud of their name and proud of their country. The spirit of patriotism is vigorously alive, and where patriotism flourishes, the administration need never fear internal revolt and disruption. How is it possible to extend the parallel to India? So far from the conditions under which we have allowed our English notions about a Free press to approve the birth and growth of a Vernacular Free press being in any sense parallel, they present a series of vivid contrasts. In England the people are free; in India the people are slaves. In England the people are wrapped up in and form an integral part of the Government; in India those of them who use the press are almost without exception irreconcilably hostile to the Govern-

race of conquerors, so that, while in England the invaluable centripetal and cohesive force of patriotism confirms and supports the Government, in India whatever substituted emotion does duty in the breasts of demagogues and politicians for patriotism expresses itself in an intense and undying hatred of the ruling class. In name the controllers of the Native press are our fellow-subjects; in fact they are our deadly enemies. If any one objects that such language is too strong or too sweeping, let him candidly and without prejudice study the leading anti-Government papers of the Deccan, for the past two years. It is impossible to deny that they breathe a spirit of rancour and disloyalty which is wholly incompatible with good citizenship. Their so-called criticism is not criticism at all; it is a long tirade against Government, Government men and Government measures. Every imaginary fault is greedily seized upon and held up to execration; of the innumerable merits of British rule there is never a whisper. Where the facts exhaust their ingenuity, it vindicates itself in fabrication. The stream of misrepresentation and lies which is poured forth continuously in the vernacular "free press," begs description and wearsies refutation. It is not, perhaps, any separate lie, however monstrous, that is of great consequence: but the malevolent spirit which propagates one calumny after another, constantly railing at and reviling Government, is of the very greatest consequence. We should always bear in mind that a subject race is never likely really to love its conquerors. The apathy of the masses, and bondsmen slaves by heredity and tradition, generation after generation in turn bowing the neck to one foreign yoke after another—is too often misinterpreted into an intelligent appreciation of our good government, and a reasoned determination to uphold it. It may be true that the ryot infinitely prefers the cold unsympathetic justice of the Englishman to the tyrannous dishonesty of the Brahmin. Sunk and degraded, though the masses are, it would be strange if they had not sense enough for that. But their sentiments towards us are characteristically passive, not vigorous enough to withstand the cajoling of superstition and religion. The Native press appeals to them in their own jargon, stirs them with shibboleths centuries old, plays upon the easily excited passion of race antipathy, and sets before it from first to last one object and one alone, to make Government and the governing race odious in the eyes of the people.

It may very well be asked, if all this is true; how comes it that any Government, at once rational and powerful, submits to the vilifications of a subject press. The answer which the Anglo-Indian Government would probably give would be of this kind. The Native press is certainly most objectionable in

its tone ; it does more harm than good, but we cannot condescend to gag it. Our position is unassailable ; our hands are clean ; what does it signify that a handful of blatant discontented men waste their time week after week in misinforming such of the public as will listen to them of our motives and our measures ? It pleases them, and it does not really hurt us. Besides, the principle to which they would instantly appeal if we endeavoured to interfere, is a principle to which every Englishman adheres ; any invasion of it would provoke the most furious clamour at home, and we do not care to face an outbreak of that kind.

The first part of the argument is of a piece with a great deal of English sentiment upon Indian problems. That sentiment is very apt to invent. The first part of the argument is characteristic of the English attitude of mind ; of that insular pride which cannot bear to place itself quite on the same level as other people, and is always extremely impatient of acknowledging that criticism touches it. It is also, no doubt, the outcome of a worthier feeling, the consciousness of honestly doing our duty by our subject peoples. But, while it is amusing, if we look at it in the first light, and quite natural if we look at it in the second light, it may still be doubted whether it is wholly true. The attitude of superb indifference to hostile criticism in which the Government habitually indulges may be carried too far. It is generally supposed to indicate firmness, strength and a confident virtue ; but it is possible that less flattering observers may interpret it differently, and imagine that what Government puts down to a noble and proper pride, is due to pusillanimity or indolence. No Oriental could realize any other motives for allowing a dependent to besmirch his honour. It would appear quite incredible that such outrages were ignored out of a spirit of profound contempt for the perpetrators and of profound respect for the principle under the abuse of which they shelter themselves. And there is now a growing feeling among Englishmen themselves that the Government is carrying toleration in this matter too far, and that the time is ripening quickly for withdrawing from our native subjects a privilege which they have, almost without exception, grossly and systematically misused. It is at this point that Government will, of course, fall back upon the second part of its argument ; however expedient any such measure might be, we shall, no doubt, be told that so long as the temper of the English people at home remains what it is ; so long as their ignorance of the conditions under which the Government of this country is carried on remains as dense and dogmatic as it unfortunately still is, any attack upon the liberty of the Press in India would excite an opposition at home too furious to be faced. The bulk of the English voters, to

whom the Liberty of the Press is a sacred phrase, are totally incapable of drawing the most obvious distinctions between conditions in which one and the same principle may be most salutary or most dangerous. Not only so, but they are totally ignorant of the true state of affairs in India. All that they know of India is derived from Macaulay, or the Radical stump orator primed up for the occasion by the young Indian in London. Unfortunately Macaulay's splendid powers were employed to give permanent point to the common misconception among our countrymen at home, that, immediately the English official is to the East of Suez, his whole nature changes, his whole moral fibre deteriorates, and he assumes with Eastern office the hateful vices of the Eastern despôt. The better educated class of Englishmen are beginning reluctantly and slowly to abandon the belief in what may be called Macaulay's Anglo-Indian; more than half against their will, the logic of simple facts is convincing them that their brethren employed in the administration of India are almost as honourable and efficient as themselves, and a hundred daily examples prove the truth of the old saying: *Coelum, non animam, mutant qui trans mare currunt*. But it takes a long time to disabuse the popular imagination of a vividly conceived type, and it is extremely doubtful whether in spite of the easy facilities now existing for intercourse between India and England; in spite of the fact that England is flooded with Anglo-Indian officials, retired or on leave, the whole mass of whom hold, and perhaps rather tediously express, the same views on all radical points of the Anglo-Indian administration, the average man in the street would not rather trust any exuberantly verbose young Ghose or Chatterjee on Indian problems, than the most deliberate assurance of the most veteran Anglo-Indian Administrator. The former, they see for themselves, belongs to the people for whom he so eloquently pleads; the latter they more than suspect of being a blood and iron bureaucrat. They cannot and never will forget Nuncomar. And it seems almost as true to say that they have not faintly realised, and never will realise, the utter imposture of the patriotism to which the young Ghoses and Chatterjis treat them so generously. A sovereign democracy, with all its good points, has its drawbacks, and among the most marked of these is the difficulties in which it finds itself in understanding Imperial subjects, and the difficulties it throws in the way of better informed people who do understand them and desire to solve them. Admirably adapted as British character is for ruling itself within the four corners of its dear Island home, it is by no means so well qualified to exercise a collective and effective control over the huge oriental dependencies of its crown.

Exactly as this is true, so is it certain that Demos will resent it; he does not wish or care to hear of the defects of his intelligence. His passions are easily excited. Liberty is a cry to which he is always ready to give a hearty, roaring response. The rare and scattered Indians he has seen are in his generous eyes his brothers in more than name, fluent speakers, wonderful manipulators of political phrases, and past masters in all those histrionic and deceptive arts by which Demos is most easily imposed upon. They speak to him with glowing eyes of the downtrodden millions of India, of whom they know very little more than honest Demos himself; they paint the wrongs which the brutal bureaucracy of England inflicts upon them in the name of a free and noble people. At this Demos is naturally enraged. It is part of the strength of his character that he is always in sympathy with the weaker side, and he has never been conspicuous for anything like a supra-normal discernment of Truth. He generalises rather rashly from the words of his dusky fluent friend that the suffering millions are all as well educated in Johnsonian English and the principles of Mill as the speaker himself, and it never strikes him with a sense of incongruity that, if it were so, their suffering is barely intelligible, but their silence under it nothing short of a miracle.

It is in this frame of mind, perhaps, that Demos is approached upon the subject of gagging the Native press. The very word is odious and an outrage on that sense of universal freedom and brotherhood in which the British public expansively indulges. It would be perfectly idle to hint ever so vaguely at fallacies in the major premiss of Demos' simple argument. They are our fellow subjects, he says, and, therefore, free; it is the inalienable privilege of the free-born Briton to have a Free press. "Don't talk to me of Gagging; we do not live under any despotism now-a-days I should hope." If you were to try to stem this torrent of platitude by suggesting that names were very often empty sound, and that the underlying reality was something very different from what an honest Briton might suspect from the promising labels on the cover, Demos would either not understand a distinction so subtle, or would fly into a rage and put you down as one more prejudiced official. Yet, in sober earnest, it is the principal object of this paper to insist, rather than point out, for the pointing out has been done so often, to insist upon the facts and get rid, as much as possible, of misleading phrases. It is because of the solid and perhaps insurmountable resistance, founded upon a misunderstanding of the elements of the whole subject, with which any proposal to curb the present intolerable license of the Vernacular press would

be met at home, that it is allowed to insult the Government and disgrace itself with the most perfect impunity. If it were possible to undermine the foundations of that misunderstanding, to put the position of the English in India clearly and simply before the common Englishman at home, to gain his attention and keep it until he had mastered the A. B. C. of that great problem of which he holds in his horny-hand the ultimate key, the position of the Executive in India would be incalculably strengthened, and our relations with the subject races would lose much of cant, and gain much in wholesomeness. Whether, however, the tribunal to which effective appeal has sooner or later to be made is qualified yet, by education and intelligence, to cope with a subject so complex and special as England's position and duties in India, is a question which few people would be sanguine enough to answer unqualifiedly in the affirmative. But while there is much in India which the Englishman at home will never even faintly understand, there are some comparatively simple considerations making for the conclusion that it would be no bad thing to substitute a discreet system of licensing for the present extremely indiscreet liberty of the Native press. It is these considerations, the simplest possible and lying upon the surface of our history and everyday experience, that will be selected.

The word history suggests one cardinal fact which ought never to be forgotten in summing up the true position. I mean that the English won this country by the sword and keep it only by the same means. It is a very unpopular truth, and it is kept in the background as much as possible, so much so indeed that recent generations seem to forget that it is a fact at all. It is not brought thus prominently forward merely because of its minatory sound, but because it is most essential in any fair and unprejudiced examination of what right the people of this country can fairly put forward to maintain a Free press. It may be assumed that, once the question is mooted, it will be defended by the natives as of right and not as of favour only. The value, then, of stating it at the outset upon a basis of historical truth cannot be over-estimated. Conceded that we have the power, as I suppose nobody will seriously deny, to break up every seditious press and flog every seditious Editor to-morrow, the broader question—that which, to the honour of England be it said, lies on the conscience of every Englishman from the first to the last day of his service in this country—next arises.

Have we the moral right to curb absolute freedom of utterance in India? Exception must be made of particular cases which fall within the reach of the criminal law. These the law

deals with as they arise, and they present no further difficulty. What is meant by the main proposition is whether, owing to essential and constant factors inherent in our rule over India, and paying every regard to political morality and political expediency (in so far as the two can be reconciled), we do not find ourselves in the result not only justified in withholding, but obliged to withhold, from our nominal fellow-subjects certain blessings and privileges of the almost perfect freedom we ourselves enjoy? And in particular, whether, looking first among these privileges to the freedom of the press, it is not our duty to ourselves and to the public tranquillity to put a permanent check on the publication and wide dissemination of seditious and disloyal literature?

The primary duty of Governments, as of individuals, is self-preservation. Political suicide is no more justifiable, indeed it is a great deal less justifiable, than individual suicide. For in the death of a State is bound up a mass of other interests entirely incommensurate with what is lost by the death of any individual. It is true, perhaps, that the British rule in India is not, strictly speaking, definable in such terms as a State, or a Nation, or even a polity. It is an abnormal growth, the result of a vast and unparalleled experiment; in its inception it may not have mattered essentially to the well-being of England, as then understood, whether the experiment succeeded or failed. The incentives to acquire an Indian appanage of empire lay rather in the necessity of forestalling other European nations with the like ambitions, than in any definite notion of Empire-making, or of the long train of political consequences to be drawn in the wake of what were at first mercantile rather than national conquests. But at the present day the Indian portion of the British Empire is of vital importance. And, although the British rule in India is altogether unlike anything of the kind that the modern world has ever seen, it is perfectly true to say that any deliberate relinquishment of it would amount, from the point of view of the Empire as a whole, to political suicide. No one pretends that the most fatuous Radical statesman has yet gone the length of consciously advocating, in so many words, anything quite so foolish as this. But a great many Radical gentlemen—it would be an excess of politeness to call them statesmen—have undeniably advocated over and over again, with a pitiful warmth, measures of which the ultimate logical result seems to be the overthrow of the British Power in India. Trifling as the libertine utterances of a few scurrilous rags may appear, as a proximate cause of any result so vast and appalling, it is worth while to enquire whether they do not tend in that direction.

It is a truism as old as man that small beginnings may make unpleasantly large endings. The source of a mighty river appears very insignificant, but the river in full flood is the reverse of insignificant. If, then, on a fair consideration of the spirit and purpose of the free Native Press, we are reluctantly forced to the conclusion that whether a directly efficient cause or not, it is nevertheless distinctly a cause which might contribute, and is intended to contribute, to the overthrow of the established order, those who are responsible for the stability of the Government are bound to see that it does not grow beyond the reach of repression. To take any other view falls little short of advocating political suicide. When harsh truths of this kind are bluntly stated, easy-going, folly are apt to smile in a superior way and talk vaguely of the folly of alarmist utterances. The importance of preserving an unruffled calm in the face of any and every contingent catastrophe is gently insisted upon, and it is hinted plainly enough that those who predict dangers are afraid of their own imaginings. But it is surely no indication of fear; to examine rigorously significant phenomena of daily occurrence, to forecast their inner meaning, and, if possible, to neutralize in time their perilous potentialities. There is a broad distinction between true courage and mere foolhardiness. It is the part of the former to realize the full contents of every germ of danger, and to be prepared to grasp any nettle, however poisonous, with a firm hand. The feeling which really underlies the expressed sentiments of most responsible men in this country, when they discuss the Native Press, is that the danger of suppressing it is much greater than any danger to be apprehended from allowing it to continue on its evil ways. And from the personal standpoint this is no doubt true. No individual runs any appreciable risk from the malignant calumnies of lying agitators; while any Governor who passed a gagging act would incur so much odium both in this country and at home, that it is not much to be wondered at if Governors prefer to let the noxious weed alone. We save our consciences over what we feel uneasy to be but at best an imperfect discharge of a primary political duty, by pretending that, after all, the press of India has not much influence; and that it serves a useful purpose as a safety valve for all the poisonous gases of disaffection that would be otherwise generating in secret. This is a poor piece of sophistry, almost as poor as that other feeble argument sometimes advanced in support of the freedom of the Native press, that here and there they do good by bringing to light some real grievance that might otherwise have escaped the notice of the authorities.

Considerations of this kind must always be more or less relative. In the case under discussion we are to consider the relative good and evil done by the Native Press. The good is infinitesimal; in fact, it may very well be doubted whether any can be discovered; the evil is enormous and daily on the increase. Neither is it true to say that the Native Press wields no influence. It does not sway the people as much as it desires to do; otherwise there would be a general revolt to-morrow. But some of the worst papers have a large circulation, and the circulation by no means fully represents the numbers who actually read and imbibe the poison. Another melancholy indication of the pernicious uses of the press is to be found in the notorious fact that, precisely as a paper is irreconcilably opposed to the Government, its circulation increases. There are Native journals of the most vicious character which have a circulation about three times as great as any English paper; and a circle of readers about thirty times as great. This huge body of crude and inflammable native opinion, uninstructed, restless, ignorant, often fanatical, takes its political doctrine from the writings of men who are almost the avowed enemies of the Government. It reads nothing on the other side, because there is nothing for it to read. It is constantly told that its rulers are foreigners, haters of the old faith, tyrants, often even murderers; every inducement is held out to make the native brood on a sense of race injustice and race antipathy, and to cultivate ideals which could not long co-exist, were practical effect to be given to them, with the British rule in India. This picture is not in the least over coloured. Surely it is of a kind to make thinking men seriously reconsider the situation, and turn over the old effete arguments for continuing to the Native Press a freedom that never should have been granted.

It is easy to foresee that at this point a certain class of sentimentalists will protest that where there is so much smoke there must be some fire—that the inveterate hatred which is evinced in all the utterances of the Brahmin press must have an adequate cause; that presumably that cause must be the injustice, or want of sympathy, shown by the ruling to the ruled race. This proposition entirely neglects one all-powerful and constantly operative cause, the permanent and prolific potency of racial distinctions, and of racial subjection. It is absolutely untrue to say that Government is ever wilfully and consistently unjust: on the contrary, its conscience is almost morbidly sensitive to the faintest reproach on this head, and it is rather in the habit of exaggerating and insisting upon the theoretical equality of all subjects of the Empress. But it is as true that it is contrary to the most deeply seated

principles of human nature that any large body of educated, ambitious alien opinion should ever be sincerely loyal to a foreign domination. It is mainly because Englishmen generally shut their eyes to the fundamental fact that in India we are a Government founded on conquest and force, that we find so many theories as plausible as they are false almost universally current and popular. The Englishman is constitutionally and pre-eminently a free man, incapable of submitting patiently to any alien yoke; and he dislikes the idea that an enormous number of his so-called fellow-subjects are quite differently situated in the vast and ever increasingly complex scheme of the Empire. He prefers to hide the disagreeable fact behind a pleasing and congenial fiction. The chiefly important functions of a Free press are its educative, its critical and its informatory functions; and its value is in precise proportion to the efficiency with which it discharges them. Let us, then, examine by this test the value of the Free Vernacular press. A Free press ought, in theory, to educate uninstructed opinion; it ought to teach a class of readers whose capacity for independent and unguided reflection is very small, to think wisely upon questions of policy and government; and if it is actuated by a becoming spirit and responsibility, it should also teach them to think calmly and rationally. But the mere statement of these primary obligations suggests large possibilities of abuse. It is one danger inseparable from the existence of a Free press, that it use its opportunities and its power to disseminate evil instead of good. In a nation where a free press is so to speak organic, an integral part of the nation's growth, any pernicious tendencies it may display in this direction, can be easily and almost automatically corrected. It is only on the very improbable and unnatural hypothesis that the entire press of such a nation should be in league to corrupt the national morality and subvert constituted authority, that the danger would become serious and real. And if such a condition of affairs were conceivable, it could only be because the nation was out of sympathy with the Government it had itself appointed and desired to be rid of it. The Government, however, being in reality the creature of the nation, it is quite impossible to imagine any such abnormal conditions persisting to the point of danger. Under normal and everyday conditions, it is almost an essential part of the constitution of a free people that its press should be free. But the case is manifestly different where the press speaks for a subject-race. In the former case the educative functions of the press are, speaking generally, beneficial and extremely useful. It discusses national questions in easily intelligible language and presents to the

mass of its readers arguments and ideas which they would be unlikely to find for themselves. Above all, the press invariably takes sides, so that the masses can, if they choose, read everything that is to be said on both sides of any debateable subject. And lastly, with whatever animosity any section of the press may be animated against a particular measure, a particular party, or a particular politician, it is impossible that it should be in any true sense seditious or disloyal. On certain subjects, such as the conflict between capital and labour, its teachings may be inflammatory, and it may be answerable for mischievous ebullitions of class feeling. But, on the whole, it is as deeply saturated as the bulk of the people with the characteristically English veneration for law and order, and the equally characteristically English dislike of sensationally extreme and violent methods. In India every material factor in the problem is altered. The Free Vernacular press has no interests in common with the Government. It is the organ of a small but influential faction of disaffected men, who desire nothing so much as to embroil the relations existing between the Governors and the governed; whose constant object it is to obstruct the authorities; whose consciences, if they possess any, are so blunted by racial and fanatic passion, as to be insensible to any civic obligations. The educative influence of a Free press in such hands must inevitably be entirely evil; and, in fact, recent experience accumulates rapidly to prove that it is, if possible, more evil than tolerant men anticipated. -

The educative function of the press in India is thus seen to be wholly misused. It does not attempt to form a sound and loyal public opinion. It is not, like the Free press of a free country, in opposition, because the opposition are as interested as the ministerial organs in maintaining the essentials of good Government, while the Vernacular press aims solely at undermining and subverting an alien authority which it hates irreconcilably. To take a simple illustration. During the last three years the Western Presidency has been devastated by plague. The sufferings of an ignorant people under such a visitation are almost indescribable. They do not understand the simplest principles of hygiene and sanitation; they are naturally altogether blind and indifferent to the enormous pecuniary interests at stake, the destruction of trade, and the tremendous additional strain imposed upon the machinery and finances of Government. They can hardly be expected to comprehend the complex necessities compelling a sorely taxed administration to have recourse to every measure, however seemingly drastic, which, in the opinion of competent scientific advisers, may stay the progress of the pestilence.

No one can feel more deeply for the people, no one can sympathise more sincerely with the terrible sufferings, hardships and sorrows to which they are inevitably exposed during a virulent epidemic of plague, than the present writer. Left to themselves, they would, no doubt, infinitely prefer to die in thousands, than attempt to combat the plague by means of evacuation, segregation and inoculation. But the Government of a country has larger interests to protect than any individual, and it would be criminally neglectful of its responsibilities if, out of a false or timorous sentimentality, it permitted itself to fall in with the passive mood of the bulk of its ignorant subjects. Where the distance between the intellectual level of rulers and ruled is so enormous as it is in India, it becomes inevitable under these conditions that the latter should regard with unreasoning distrust, discontent, even, perhaps, animosity, the stringent preventive and repressive measures of the former. They realise keenly enough the present discomforts which these measures entail upon themselves, but they have not a spark of that enlightenment which might help them to see that Government is actuated solely by a desire for their own good and the prosperity of the country to which they belong. They are like children who hate the doctor and his healing draught, because the taste is bitter. What part has the Free press of Western India taken in dealing with the peculiar passions excited by Government plague measures? Has it ever counselled the people wisely? Has it attempted to point out to them that Government plague regulations are the outcome of the highest available scientific advice, and may, therefore, be presumed to be likely, if loyally obeyed and carried out, to check the spread of the disease? Nothing of the kind. The press has, almost unanimously, and from the first, harped upon the invidious theme of race distinction, has vilified almost every conspicuous officer engaged in carrying out the Government plague policy, has pandered disgracefully to the besotted ignorance and superstition of the people, has inflamed their anger at what they imagine to be the unnecessary hardships inflicted upon them, has in every possible way striven to foment a dangerous spirit of discontent and to excite them to hatred and contempt of their rulers. Here if anywhere, was a splendid opportunity for the Free press to vindicate its claims to be a beneficent educative power. The men who control it are not so ignorant as to be able to claim even the poor indulgence of a misguided sincerity. They knew, as well as the officers whom they unceasingly abused, that the policy of Government was founded in enlightened humanity. But they had not the honesty to say so. On the contrary they went to the people, week after week, day after day, with poisonous lies in their mouths.

They taught them that Government was unmeaningly harsh to them, and wickedly indulgent to Englishmen. This dangerous calumny has not been confined to the anonymous writers of Vernacular journals. Men who claim to be in the very front rank of educated native opinion, who brag freely enough of their political reputations and their unsullied honour, have not been above stooping to use it when it suited their purpose. Yet they at least knew perfectly well that, in exempting Europeans from certain plague restrictions, Government was acting upon a then well-grounded belief that the European was practically immune, and not in the slightest degree upon the unworthy motive of emphasising race distinctions. The point would hardly deserve notice except as illustrating how very thinly the veneer of English phrase and English sentiment covers the underlying native conscience, even in the highest products of our various training schools. A gentleman who parades his honour as quite on a par with that of any British officer and almost in the same breath works himself into a fine spurious rage of indignation over an injustice which he knows perfectly well is no injustice at all, is an interesting and significant study. It is not, however, surprising that the implacable enemies of Government who control the Vernacular press should lay so much stress on this particular lie when it evidently passes current with men in a very different position, men whose connexion with Government ought to have taught them to use their abilities and influence to better purpose.

As separable and distinct from the educative function, the other two functions of a Free press are comparatively insignificant. The critical efforts of the press may be looked at from two sides, from the side of the Government which is commonly the object of criticism, and from the side of the people for whose benefit the criticism is undertaken. In the latter point of view the critical is hardly distinguishable from the educative function, and need not be separately discussed. Obviously if the press abuses the powers it has for educating the dawn-intelligence of the masses, it will likewise abuse the powers it has for placing before them a criticism of the measures of their Rulers. And this is not only a *a priori* pre-
 [redacted] able, but is a fact of the general truth of which experience
 [redacted] I, think, testify. Criticism, to possess any real value, ought
 [redacted] be, in the first place, impartial; in the second place, honest;
 [redacted] the third place competent. Failing any of these qualities it is *pro tanto* less valuable; failing all of them it is altogether valueless. But the criticism which the Native press usually bestows upon the policy of Government is rarely either honest or impartial. It is vitiated by a radical bias against the

integrity of the Rulers. The writers for the press know as well as any one that their main premiss is false, but that does not deter them from using it in almost all their most popular arguments. On the assumption that the Government was sincerely and honestly striving, at least, as much for the welfare of the people as for its own, it would be almost impossible for the average Native Editor to fill a column of political criticism in a year. But on the extraordinarily second hypothesis that the governing body is malevolently bent on repressing every higher aspiration of the subject masses, political agitators find no difficulty in manufacturing virulent attacks on almost every large measure of Government policy. Where the interests at stake are imperial, the common cry is that the expense is unjustly charged upon the already over-taxed ryot; where the interests at stake are local, the Free press teaches the people that Government is actuated by a covert spirit of racial animosity and ineradicable injustice. Viewed from the other side, it is plain that the Government cannot derive much benefit or assistance from criticism of this kind. Here and there instances might be found where an intelligent and enlightened native opinion has thrown light upon some difficult problem of internal administration; but such instances are, I fear, the exception proving the rule. Those who are responsible for the government of the country are not likely to profit much by a criticism which breathes a rancorous hatred in its every line, and imputes to the authorities a kind of injustice of which their whole lives and work offer the completest refutation. It is the well-known practice of the Government to circulate excerpts from the Vernacular press to administrative officers, partly for their information and occasionally, perhaps, for their guidance. The passages which are thus collected week by week under the supervision of a Government official, do not truly represent the worst phases of the malignancy of the Free press. But, although very much worse illustrations might easily be procured, these are frequently quite bad enough. It is difficult to imagine worse training for a newly joined official, than the perusal of selections from the Native press. With what high ideals of doing good to the people over whom he has been placed, with whatever philanthropic hopes of establishment between himself and them something like a genuine sympathy with whatever sanguine illusions on the subject of our common brotherhood, he may have entered upon his career, his mind must soon be poisoned and embittered against the subject race by these specimens of their hopeless inaccessibility. He turns away sick and discomfited from a contemplation of so much evil for so much good.

It is in vain that Englishmen spend their lives in holding up high standards of justice and impartiality before eyes that are wilfully blind. If the Free press truly reflects the sentiments of the peoples of India, then our unceasing efforts to raise them to higher levels, to implant in them some moral responsibility, to cultivate in them the germs of rational good citizenship, have been labour thrown away. It is not the purpose of this paper to prove that the Free press does not, in truth, represent the sentiments of the masses, any more than the foolish verbiage of the Congress does; but it is part and the chief part of its purpose to show clearly that, while the Free press is dominated by this peculiarly noxious spirit, it has no valid claim to continue Free. Freedom is an inestimably valuable gift which carries with it high responsibilities. In such a complex case as that of our Indian Empire it is shackled by numerous implied conditions, and where those conditions are systematically violated, the question assumes a sudden and sharp prominence, whether it is not time to revoke the gift?

Before passing on to another topic, I may illustrate by a common example the character of the criticism by which the Native Free press is distinguished. Cases unfortunately occur with some frequency in which Englishmen, by rash acts of temper, become answerable for the lives of Natives. In ninety-nine out of every hundred of these cases there is no serious intention to kill, and death is hardly more than an accidental result. But the Native press fastens upon every instance and insists with groundless bitterness that, where the law is invoked between the White and the Black, it becomes a mere travesty of justice. The insinuation, not always even veiled in decent language, is that the judicial tribunals of the country deliberately prostitute their honour and integrity to racial prejudice. The calumny is as vile as it is unfounded. And the men who sedulously propagate and repeat it know perfectly well that it is so. There was a certain notorious case in which an unfortunate officer shot a native woman in the mists of the morning, mistaking her for a bear. No reasonable being ever had the slightest doubt but that the killing was a sad accident, and, under all the peculiar circumstances of the case, an accident for which there was a good deal of excuse. But the Native press seized upon it, and for years made capital out of it, pretending to believe that there had been an intentional miscarriage of justice. Not very long afterwards, precisely the same thing occurred, but this time the delinquent was a native customs peon. He was never even brought to trial, and I waited with some curiosity to see whether the Native press would exhaust itself in malignant vituperation

over this case. But, as far as I was able to ascertain, no local paper ever mentioned the occurrence. It did not suit them they could not make it a peg on which to hang their false tirades about racial injustice. So with one accord they passed it over in silence. It is notorious, and no one is better aware of the fact than the editors of the Native press, that not a month passes in which natives are not treated in all the Sessions Courts of the country with precisely the same legal indulgence as that which, in the case of English offenders is invariably made the text of a furious attack on the judicial administration. If there is anything amiss with the leniency of which the papers always complain when an Englishman is the recipient of it, they have the same cause of complaint in thousands of cases yearly brought against their own countrymen. But they never allude to them. They pretend not to see that, if there is an evil to be remedied, it is an evil inherent in the law itself, not in the administration of it; and such criticism as they indulge in is vitiated and useless as centres on a basic falsehood.

Reflections on the informatory uses of the Press must be sufficiently obvious. A Free Native Press might discharge a valuable duty to the Government by keeping it informed of events and currents of Native opinion of which it might otherwise obtain no knowledge. And to a certain extent the Native press does in this way supply a want. But, unfortunately, the character of the particular items of news which it sedulously purveys is monotonously uniform, and usually limited to instances of what it chooses to consider injustice and oppression on the part of the Government agency. Unremitting enquiry and investigation prove that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the information given by the Press is wholly untrue, or grossly, and apparently purposely, exaggerated. Very few real abuses have been brought to light by this means. Nor does the Native press, as a rule, honestly indicate important currents of Native opinion. Indirectly it no doubt does so, by the peculiar tone which pervades it in the discussion of certain lines of policy. But its object can hardly be described as informatory. It does not wish to warn Government of hidden dangers, but rather to inflame the causes of discontents and so aggravate, by secret and allusive methods, any dangerous feeling of the existence of which it may happen to be aware. If we take such notorious instances as the cow-killing agitation, the Shivaji cult, and the more recent Ganapati propaganda, impartial observers must reluctantly conclude that the Native press was in conspiracy and warm sympathy with a mass of dangerous and inflammable opinion; that it did not desire to expose the tendency of that opinion, but

rather to work on the fanatical and ignorant prepossessions of the subject races and to augment the embarrassments and difficulties with which in such delicate matters the Government is itself obliged to cope.

Whenever information that might be essentially valuable to the Government is specially within the knowledge of the Native press, it may be said with reasonably general accuracy, that it is sedulously withheld; it is only that kind of information, possessing little intrinsic value, which serves the purpose of disaffected political agitation, that is freely and irresponsibly offered.

The apologists for the freedom of the Native press mainly rely on the safety valve argument. They maintain that, for good or evil, the unrestrained utterances of the organs of native opinion are exceedingly useful to intelligent readers as expressive indicia to deep undercurrents of popular feeling which would not otherwise come to the notice of the ruling power. And this argument is obviously closely connected with the topic I am now discussing. I think its importance is much over-rated. One part of it is that the feelings of irritation and disloyalty which find free expression in the Vernacular papers would constitute, if the press were forbidden to utter them, a hidden canker, and a focus of seditious organization; the potential dangers of which are incalculable. This is a specious proposition; but its force depends mainly upon the true establishment in this calculation of a ratio between cause and effect. It may very well be doubted whether, apart from the energy of the disaffected press as a fomenting agency, its own particular propaganda have any firm hold on the sentiments of the masses. The party responsible for the worst section of the Vernacular press is a small party. It contains a disproportionate share of a kind of perverted ability, but the grievances which excite its animosity are mostly personal to the clique and of a kind which the masses would not, if left to themselves, feel with any keenness. There is very little real sympathy between the educated Brahmin of our schools and the ryot, less a great deal than between the ryot and the district officer. But, by means of the Press, this solid and purposeful body of irreconcilable opinion makes itself felt to an extent altogether out of proportion to its true political importance. It does not put its own grievances, which, for the most part, amount to no more than an unsatisfied ambition, in the forefront of its programme. But it appeals with considerable skill and power to the religious and racial prejudices of the ignorant peasantry. On these, the main texts of its diatribes, it does not hesitate, as I have already pointed out, to pervert the truth wholesale, and to mis-

represent both the motives and the character of the governing body. The ryots have no means of checking the surprising facts which are daily laid before them, and when these disgraceful instances of injustice are accompanied by a running commentary invoking their superstition and the deeply laid foundations of their ancient faith to rise in protest against the indignities put upon them by an unbelieving and unsympathetic race, it would be surprising if the effect did not greatly exceed the means and the true causes of the agitators. Put in another way the disloyal sentiments with which the Native press abounds are not so much a safety valve for the escape of a superfluity of such feeling, permeating the uneducated classes in unascertainable volume and intensity, as the productive cause of as much of it as really does exist unexpressed and undefined. It is a very hazardous and a very reckless assumption that the opinion of the seditious Vernacular papers represents any large body of popular opinion outside the school to which the writers themselves belong. But it is reasonable to suppose that if publicists of that temper are permitted to disseminate their ideas with impunity and to fortify them with imagined facts, and all the weight of racial and religious bias, they will succeed in time in creating a correspondingly wide and undesirable temper in large sections of the rural community. It is too much the fashion to pretend to mistake what we all know was originally, and even at present principally is, nothing more than a potential cause, for an unavoidable and on the whole salutary effect.

There is another unamicable feature of the Native Vernacular press to which it is questionable whether a parallel can be found in the Free press of other countries. I refer to the practice of black-mailing in which many of the lowest and most needy papers freely indulge, on which, indeed, they mainly depend for existence. This is a moral rather than a political evil, and is of a kind which Government cannot very well attempt to deal with wholesale. It has not any very large or direct relevance to the broad principles upon which I claim that the whole Vernacular press of India should be subject to a system of discreet and temperate licensing. But it has an indirect value of its own for the purposes of this discussion, as an evidence of the moral level of the classes into whose hands the management of so great a power as the press may, at any moment, and very constantly does, fall. Black-mailing individuals is an offence of which the most degraded portions of any national Free press may not, perhaps, be entirely guiltless. But the peculiar conditions of our rule in India expose a certain large and wealthy class of our subjects in a very marked degree to this indefensible persecution. I refer here, of course

the Rajahs and Administrations of protected States. A number of Vernacular papers exist almost entirely on the profits they make out of the fears and sensitiveness of native rulers. Nothing is easier than to set up a press in the neighbourhood of an Agency and to terrorise Chiefs, by threats of exposing internal abuses, into paying ample hush money. Papers of this class have no justification whatever. Their complete and immediate suppression would be an unqualified blessing. And it may very well be doubted whether the best known and most influential organs of Native opinion are always above having recourse to this infamous means of replenishing the exchequer.

The existence of such an evil, if it flourishes to the extent I imagine it does, is not so much a reason in itself for curtailing the liberty of the entire Native press, as an indication of the startling want of those high moral qualities, in those who set up as educators of native opinion, which should form an essential prerequisite to the establishment and wholesome growth of an irreproachable Free press. The crisis of the Boer War has, unfortunately, revealed a depth of malignancy and baseness in certain sections of disloyal Irish opinion at home which can hardly be surpassed by the worst Indian agitators. And there will, no doubt, be found apologists of sedition to argue that the case for licensing Vernacular papers in this country is no stronger than it is for licensing Fenian papers at home. The test of this argument is the extent of actual and potential danger properly attributable to the causes under comparison. There can be very little doubt that, however virulent and disaffected the Fenian and Roman Catholic Irishry may be, they could hardly constitute any real imperial danger. But the same spirit, diffused over the vast and alien population of India, might produce the most dreadful and far-reaching consequences. And, apart from that predominating consideration, there is a very general feeling that the Irish have recently far exceeded all legitimate limits of free and allowable criticism. It would not be at all surprising, and it certainly would not greatly shock the public conscience at home, if some of the worst Fenian offenders were punished with extreme rigour.

One ground upon which any measure such as I now advocate is always stubbornly combated is that it is retrogressive, and unworthy of the great principle of political education which has always underlain our government of this country. It has been the aim of successive administrations to foster in the people a spirit of self-government, to create, wherever possible, a spirit of civic responsibility, and to admit more of our fellow-subjects, day by day and year by year,

to a participation in the machinery of Government. In furtherance of this programme, we introduced a system of local self-government, we conceded full liberty of the press, we instituted trial by jury—all the characteristic and most prized privileges of a free people. But, in doing so, we greatly over-estimated the intelligence and ethical progress of the agency available, and we ignored the cardinal fact that the people is not free. Very few who are competent to speak with authority, dare say that any of these experiments have proved successful. But fewer still have the courage to avow the fundamental error and to suggest the withdrawal of privileges which the Indian people is not yet fit to enjoy. Moral enervation appears to paralyse our responsible rulers in face of the difficulty they have created. They will not own that their theories were premature and presupposed many non-existent conditions. They refuse to do more than feebly reiterate that any corrective steps would be painfully retrograde. If you have given a child a dangerous weapon to play with and find that his inexperience in handling it is likely to result in a tragedy, you would hardly call it a retrogressive step to take it away again in time. In a concrete instance of this simple kind, everyone's common sense would approve your action as both humane and prudent. Precisely the same considerations apply on a larger scale and, therefore, more forcibly to the administrative problem I am dealing with. The existence of a Free press in India, under present conditions, and managed as it is now being managed, constitutes a real and growing danger to the entire community. Have we the courage to face the facts and throttle the evil while there is yet time? The remedy is so simple and rational that, once we disabuse our minds of sentimental and theoretical prepossessions, it can scarcely fail to meet with general approval. Let the Vernacular press be licensed; let those papers which exist only to vilify Government and its officers, to stir up sedition and ill-will, to pervert the truth and misrepresent everyone of our motives, be sternly and uncompromisingly suppressed. There are some reputable and long-established Vernacular papers, such for example as the *Rast Goftar*, or the *Indian Spectator*, which would have nothing to apprehend from the introduction of a system of licensing. Indeed no paper which deserved to be free would be anything but free; the curbs would be applied only to those rancorous irreconcilable spirits whose senseless rage against authority is not rooted in pure motive, sincerity, truth or patriotism, but in the vile soil of splenetic vanity and absorbing selfishness.

TRUTH.

ART XII.—THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE ARYAN HINDOOS.

WE propose in this and succeeding articles to trace the genesis and give a historical account of the social customs and practices of the Hindoos prevalent in the Vedic, the Epic, the Rationalistic, the Buddhist, the Pauranik and the Modern periods, noticing which of these customs are universal and invariable and which of them local and variable, and how and when the latter underwent modifications.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDOOS DURING THE VEDIC PERIOD.

(B. C. 2000 to B. C. 1400.)

The history of Aryan Hindoo civilisation forms a bright chapter in universal history. Ancient Hindoo culture and progress have been pronounced by competent authorities to be unique in the history of the world. No other nation of ancient or modern times can show so brilliant a record of thirty centuries of progress. It contains all the essential features of what is called the philosophy of history through successive ages—the religious, intellectual and political advancement of the Hindoos, as well as the excellence of their social and domestic customs and institutions. It presents, in short, a faithful picture of their successes, failures and struggles in forming and developing a national life. It is not correct to say that the Rig-Veda was the beginning of Hindoo civilisation. "Even before the Aryan stock," says Professor Max Müller, "was separated and dispersed to all the corners of the world, they had nearly all the ingredients of a civilised life."

Hindooism, according to Mr. C. B. Clarke, consists in the observance of the manners and customs of a particular place at a particular time, and necessarily varies from day to day, and from place to place, like the hues of the rainbow. This remark, without explanation, is likely to produce a misconception leading to erroneous conclusions. For upwards of 3,000 years Hindooism has lasted, defying the ravages of time, the revolution of empires, the vicissitudes of Governments, the iconoclastic spirit of the Mohammedans and the Missionary Christians. The true basis of Hindooism, as a religious and a social league, is solid and strong and not liable to be shaken by any changes in the mere outward form of its observance. The ancient Aryans used to worship Nature, but the Hindoos are image-worshippers; there was no idolatry in ancient times; it is now rigorously ob-

served ; but such differences in the mode of worship, or the social constitution, do not affect the fundamental principle of Hindooism, as a great humanising force, a firm basis of religious culture and social unity.

"It is language and religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language." The ancient Scriptures of the Hindoos are the Vedas. They are four in number, the Rig, the Yajur, the Sama and the Atharva. The first is a collection of hymns and poems of various dates, but may be roughly ascribed to the 14th or 15th century B. C. The Rig was divided into eleven *mondals*, or books, and out of these were formed the other three Vedas. The Yajur and the Sama may be described as prayer-books compiled from the Rig for the use of the choristers and the ministers of the priests, and contain little besides what is found in the earliest and most sacred Veda. The Atharva, the latest compilation, may be described as a collection of poems mixed up with popular sayings, medical advice, magical formulæ and the like. The *Brahmanas*, or commentaries on the Vedas, the object of which was to explain obscure passages in the old hymns, gave place to the *Sutras*, "the strings," or manuals of the grammarians.

In the absence of any Vernacular or Sanscrit history of these early times, except what can be known from the Sanscrit works on religion, literature and romance, we are constrained to refer to European writers. Mr. R. C. Dutt's History of Aryan Civilisation may also be occasionally referred to as throwing light upon the subject of our enquiry. The authenticity and true value of history depend upon the extent to which it agrees with the actual state of things. If a writer does not confine himself to a faithful picture, but gives only a coloured version according to the light of his own ideas, it ought to be thoroughly examined before we accept it. Besides, to do justice to our venerable Rishis, we should always bear in mind that, as their glorious achievements introduced into India an unparalleled civilisation, and as they have left to us imperishable monuments of their genius and extraordinary powers, our business should be, not so much to adversely criticise, as to clearly understand them. Haphazard and careless conclusions upon insufficient data serve no useful purpose. It will not do to say that the Aryan Hindoos were beef-eaters, *Soma*-*rasa*-drinkers, and worshippers of the planets and the elements, and therefrom jump to the conclusion that they were vicious and barbarous people. To rise from Nature to God is the most natural and approved form of Divine Religion enters into the very minutest details of eating and drinking, in what at first sight appears

tial form of self-indulgence, being associated with religion, can seldom produce that degradation and demoralisation which follow when they are indulged in for the mere gratification of the passions.

The primitive Aryans led a simple life. They pursued agriculture, possessing large herds of domestic animals. Plain living and high thinking were what they were noted for. These were also the principal characteristics of the ancient Greeks and Romans. From Sparta strangers were, as much as practicable, excluded by law, lest they should introduce bad customs, soft manners or vicious habits. The whole of the citizens, young and old, made their principal repast at the public tables. The meals were coarse and parsimonious; the conversation was fitted to improve the youth in virtue and cultivate the patriotic spirit. The well-known anecdote in the life of Cincinnatus, the Roman Dictator, affords a typical example of Roman simplicity of manners. He naturally preferred the charms of a retired country life to the fatiguing splendours of office, and, on hearing that the senate had appointed him a Dictator, said to his wife: "I fear, my dear wife, that for this year our little fields must remain unsown." Such sturdy and frugal habits and pastoral tastes also characterised the ancient Hindoos, whose main industry was agriculture. Our educated countrymen now regard such a useful and healthy occupation as beneath their dignity, hankering after Government service or rushing into the learned professions, which are already overcrowded.

That the Vedic Hindoos used to cultivate the land appears evident from the following hymn in the Rig Veda. "Let the oxen work merrily; let the men work merrily; let the plough move on merrily. Fasten the traces merrily; ply the goad merrily. O Suna and Sira, accept this hymn. Moisten this earth with the rain you have created in the sky." O fortunate Sita (furrow) proceed onwards, we pray unto thee; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crops. May Indra accept Sita. May Pushan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn year after year."

Rig Veda IV, 57, 4 to 7.

The caste system was unknown to the primitive Hindoos, the only distinction recognised being between Aryans and Non-Aryans, or aborigines, who were hunting tribes. "If," says Professor Max Müller, "with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste as we find it in Manu and at the present time, form one of the most ancient religious teachings of the Vedas? We can answer it with a decided no."

The Aryans had advanced beyond the rude existence of the hunter to the settled industry of the cultivator of the soil.

Their domestic customs and laws of inheritance were nearly the same as those which now prevail in India. In fact, some of the customs have undergone changes for the worse. The women were treated with greater respect and were not kept in seclusion. They performed rites and ceremonies and composed hymns. Hindoo matrons were careful and diligent in exercising supervision over domestic affairs. Girls often married at an advanced age, and there were no restrictions against widow marriage. The practice of Sati or widow-burning was unknown.

The religion of the Vedic Hindoos was purely theistic. Monotheism is inculcated in the Vedas as appears from the following hymn in the Rig Veda.

"In the beginning He of the golden womb existed. He was the Lord of all from his birth. He placed this earth and sky in their respective places. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him who has given life and strength, whose will is obeyed by all the gods; whose shadow is immortality; whose slave is death. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him who by his power is the sole King of all the living beings that see and move; Him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him by whose power these snowy mountains have been made and whose creations are this earth and its oceans. Him whose arms are these quarters of space. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him who has fixed in their places this sky and this earth; Him who has established the heavens and the highest heaven; Him who has measured the firmament. Whom shall we worship with offerings? Him by whom the sounding sky and earth have been fixed and expanded; Him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty; Him by whose support the sun rises and gains lustre."

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDOOS IN THE EPIC PERIOD.

(B. C. 1400 to B. C. 1000.)

In this period the two celebrated epic poems the Mahabharata and the Ramayan were composed. As the Mahabharata celebrates the Lunar race of Delhi, so the Ramayan forms the epic history of the Solar race of Ajodha, the ancient capital of Oudh. The two poems preserve the legends of the two most famous ancient Hindoo dynasties. The compiler of the Mahabharata was Vyasa, and the compiler of the Ramayan Valmiki. Both of them are held in universal esteem and admiration "for their magnificence of imagery and elegance of description. They embrace history, geography, genealogy, theology and the nucleus of many a popular myth." Both works are more

voluminous than either Homer's *Iliad* or Virgil's *Aeneid*. The *Mahabharata* contains 220,000 and the *Ramayana* 48,000 lines, while the *Iliad* contains only 16,000 and the *Aeneid* less than 10,000 lines.

"The *Mahabharata* has a great historical value, not as a true account of the incidents of the war which forms the subject, but as a picture of the manners and civilisation of the early Epic Age. We see in this venerable epic how Hindoos lived and fought, acted and felt three thousand years ago. We find that young princes were eagerly trained to arms, and that Kuru mothers, sisters and wives came out in public and witnessed with pride the tournaments in which their sons, brothers and husbands distinguished themselves. We see how girls were married at an advanced age and princesses famed for their beauty often selected their husbands from among the princes who came to seek their hands. We see how jealousies among neighbouring kings broke out into sanguinary wars and how the bitterness of such feuds was restrained by the laws of honour and of chivalry. Victors in such wars performed the *Asvamedha* or the horse-sacrifice, and all the princes of the Hindoo world were invited to these grand imperial festivities."

Dutt's Ancient and Modern India.

The same author gives a glowing account of the manners and civilisation of the Hindoos, gleaned from the *Ramayana*. "In this inestimable ancient Epic," he says, "we find how different races like the Kosalas and the Vedeas lived side by side along the fertile valley of the Ganges, and how the whole of Southern India was still inhabited by those barbarian aborigines who have been described by the poet as bears and monkeys. We see how kings strove to secure the happiness and earn the good will of the people and how the people were devotedly loyal to their kings. Young princes were trained in arms and also in all the learning of the age, and princesses famed for their beauty attracted numbers of suitors, from whom the bravest and the most skilful in arms were selected. Kings not unfrequently had a large number of wives; the mutual jealousies of rival queens often disturbed the even course of administration; and a favourite and strong-minded queen secured the succession of her issue to the throne and the banishment of rival princes."

The four castes—Brahmins, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras—were formed during this period. In the Vedic Age each householder was a husbandman, warrior and priest. He performed all the functions now assigned to a special class. But by degrees persons blessed with leisure and learning and versed in Vedic lore were selected by the King to perform the

great sacrifices. In this way the Brahmins or the priestly class sprang up. As the Aryan conquest became more extensive, fortunate soldiers received a larger share of the lands than others, and cultivated them, not with their own hands as before, but by means of the aborigines. These wealthy warriors, or fighting companions of the King, were honoured with the appellation of Kshattriyas, literally "of the royal stock." The agricultural settlers were called Vaisyas, and in the early times, formed the bulk of the people. The conquered aborigines, reduced to the condition of serfs, were called Sudras. In this way the four castes arose. The first three castes were of Aryan descent and were known by the term (द्विज) Dwija, or twice-born. They could all participate in the sacrifices and worshipped the same gods. The Sudras were not allowed to be present at these religious sacrifices or feasts, or study the holy books. They remained in a servile condition and had to do all the dirty and hard work of the village community.

The superiority of the Brahmins is founded upon the following legend. It is said that the Brahmins sprang up from the mouth of Brahma or the Creator, the Kshattriyas from his arm, the Vaisyas from his thigh, and the Sudra from his feet. The true import of this mythology is : that the Brahmins represented the brain-power, and the Kshattriyas the physical power, of the nation ; the two other classes undertook to supply food and render personal service respectively. The duty of the Sudra was to serve, that of the Kshattriyas to fight and preserve public peace, that of the Vaisya to cultivate industries, and that of the Brahmins to look after the spiritual welfare of the people. By assuming priestly functions they renounced all claim to royal dignity. They were most competent to be the guides and rulers and the counsellors of kings ; but they did not choose to be kings themselves.

"The system of caste," says Dr. Hunter, "exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is in the first place a trade-guild. It ensures the proper training of the youth of its own special craft ; it makes rules for the conduct of business ; and it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings. The famous manufactures of mediaeval India,—its muslins, silks, cloth of gold, inlaid weapons, and exquisite work in precious stones—were brought to perfection under the care of the castes or trade-guilds. Such guilds may still be found in full work in many parts of India."

The system of caste, however, is not an unmixed blessing. It has divided and disunited the compact body of the Hindoos into separate sections, placing the common people under the domination of the priestly class, and thereby obstructing the growth of popular freedom and progress.

But it is not so much the social as the economic results of the caste system which are injurious. "Accustomed to look upon toil as slavery, the Hindoos (of the higher castes) have never worked more than was necessary to supply their wants. Capital, therefore, the surplus of production above consumption, has never existed; and in the absence of capital, any high advance in material civilization is impossible. Another element of such an advance, co-operation, has been equally unknown. Division of labour, in its literal sense, of giving to every man a separate employment, has indeed been carried to its utmost length; but the division of labour in its economical signification as a method of co-operation has been rendered impossible by the contempt which divides man from man. On this subject false appearances, and inaccurate names for these appearances, have led many writers into error. Division of labor as a term of Political Economy means a division of processes in order to an ultimate combination of results. Division of labour as predicable of Indian art or manufacture, means a division of results (each man being able to do only one thing) effected by a combination of processes (each man performing the whole of the processes requisite to produce the single result.)"

Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal."

But although the caste system introduced in this Age failed to produce good economic results and unite society, the social life of the Hindoos was highly civilised. Girls were married at an advanced age, and child-marriage was yet unknown. There was not only no restriction against widow-marriage, but it was expressly sanctioned, the rites and ceremonies which a widow had to perform before she was re-married being distinctly laid down. "Rise up woman," says the *Rig Veda* to a widow-lady, "thou art lying by the side of one whose life is gone; come to the world of the living away from thy husband and become the wife of him who holds thy hand, and be willing to marry thee." The illustrious antiquarian and scholar, Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, gave a clear philological proof as to the sanction of the re-marriage of Hindoo widows, both of law and custom in ancient times. According to him the very existence of such words as *didhisu*, a man that has married a widow, *parapurva*, a woman that has married a second husband, and *punarbhava*, a son of a woman by her second husband, in Sanscrit from an early age, proves the custom. The practice of Sati or widow-burning was then unknown.

The system of education was what is now prevalent in our *toils*, the pupils receiving not only intellectual but moral training. They were taught by precept as well as by example. Living during the period of their studentship under the per-

sonal superintendence of their gurus or teachers, they learned and practised those domestic and religious virtues which, in after-life, stood them in good stead in their dealings with mankind. Cheerful obedience to their elders, hospitality to strangers and simplicity of life were the happy results of the Aryan mode of teaching, contrasting favourably with the English method, which unfortunately tends to produce a spirit of disobedience and insolence; cold, phlegmatic and unsympathetic treatment of strangers, and a high style of living often unsuited to one's condition and circumstances in life. The Hindoos are specially noted as a race of hospitable people. Charity is their peculiar characteristic. Giving alms to the beggar is almost a daily practice with them. The countless beggars in India mainly subsist on private charity. The only thing wanted is that proper discretion should be exercised in relieving the poor and distressed. Indiscriminate charity tends to hold out a premium to idleness and sloth. Able-bodied paupers are not entitled, on principle, to charitable relief. While guarding ourselves against the baneful influence of callousness and hard-heartedness resulting from habitual apathy or indifference to appeals of real distress, precaution should be taken that our alms, instead of benefiting the mendicants, may not injure them by depriving them of the commendable spirit of self-help and self-reliance.

The females enjoyed perfect liberty and obtained equal advantages of education with men. There were lady-Rishies who composed hymns of the Rig Veda, and it is stated by a high authority that the *Gaitri*, which is held as a sacred hymn of daily prayer for a Brahmin, was composed by a lady-Rishi. Cultured ladies such as Visvabara, Romasa, Lopamudra, Atri, and others composed parts of the Rig Veda and were ranked as Vedic Rishis. In their Charans and Parishads—like the Grammar Schools and Universities of modern Europe—some of the highest chairs, according to Professor Max Müller, were creditably occupied by lady-Professors.

Ladies in those days attended social gatherings in which religious or literary subjects were topics of discourse, and in one of such discourses a learned lady, by name Gargi, is said to have vanquished in argument the celebrated jurist Yajnavalkya himself. Maitriya, the wife of this learned Rishi, was deeply versed in Vedic knowledge. There are passages in the Rig Veda such as, "the great Rishis who have been invited to the sacrifice, have come with their wives," which go to show that the Hindoo females were not held in seclusion, but took an intelligent part in social and religious matters. The Zenana system has been the outcome of Mohammedan rule in India, and is still prevalent, although Indian society has much improved under the civilising influence of the English Government. If

it is thought desirable to allow Hindoo ladies the liberty which their ancestors unquestionably enjoyed in ancient times, we must decide the question with regard to two important points: first, whether Hindoo society, as at present constituted, is ripe for such a change; secondly, whether Hindoo females have received such a degree of education and culture as to be likely to make good use of their liberty. The general improvement of Hindoo society is a necessary condition of safe female emancipation. In fact, female education and female emancipation must go hand in hand, or else there is danger of liberty degenerating into license.

Although the Vedic mode of worship still continued, rites and ceremonies acquired an undue importance in this period so as to affect the purely spiritual character and the simple spirit of the Vedic hymns and religion. The Brahmanas, or Commentaries on the Vedas, which were now composed, dwelt largely on sacrificial rites and their object and meaning; and the idea of religion itself was associated with a punctilious performance of such rites in all their minute details rather than with earnest and fervent prayer to God.

(To be continued.)

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B. L.

ART XIII.—NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

NO. IV.

(Continued from the Calcutta Review, July 1898, No. 213.)

AMONG the novelties which attracted my notice during a visit paid to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens on the 17th October 1899, the following are deserving of careful inspection by reason of their exotic habitat, rarity and beauty.

In the Birds of Prey House, to the south-west of the Dumraon House are, at present, exhibited specimens of three species of exotic vultures, namely, the Cinereous Vulture (*Vultur monachus*, Linn.), the Black Vulture (*Cathartes atratus*, Bartr.), and the Turkey Vulture (*Cathartes aura*, Linn.). Of the Cinereous Vulture, there is a single specimen, which occupies the northernmost of the western series of the cages in the House. It is labelled as having been obtained by exchange and is found in Southern Europe. It is also said to occur in Northern Africa, South-western Asia, parts of Central Asia, India and China. The range of this bird within Indian limits is confined to the Himalayas, and, during the cold weather, it even visits parts of North-western India. The length of this bird is about 42 inches; that of the tail being 17 inches, and that of the wing 30 inches. The colour of its plumage is blackish brown throughout, with a ruddy gloss on the mantle in freshly moulted specimens. Its under-surface is sometimes darker than its upper surface; the quills and the tail are almost black. The occiput and the lower tail-coverts are paler than the rest of its plumage. Its bill is blackish brown; cere pale mauve; irides brown; the naked skin of the neck of a livid flesh colour; the legs and feet creamy or pearl white. Naturalists believe that this bird breeds in the Himalayas, though its nest has not been met with within the limits of India proper. It breeds in the rocky and inaccessible fastnesses of the principal mountain-ranges of Southern Europe, about February or March, building a huge nest of sticks and laying a single egg richly marked with dark red colour. Colonel Irby, however, says that this species breeds in Spain in trees, laying only one egg about the beginning of April. Its habits are like those of the rest of the members of the Vulture family. The Cinereous Vulture feeds chiefly on carrion, which it discovers by soaring to a great height in the air and watching not only the ground below and in the circuit of its vision, but also the other vultures soaring at the

same height. If one of these descends, its neighbours, soaring at a distance, at once instinctively guess that it has discovered some food and at once swoop down to the same point. The fable narrated in respect of the King Vulture (*Gypagus papa*) of Tropical America, that all the smaller vultures wait patiently round a carcase until the "King" has satisfied his voracious appetite, is also told of the Cinereous Vulture. The latter, it is said, drives away all the Griffon Vultures from any carcase which they may be feeding upon.

The Black and the Turkey Vultures are strictly confined to America only. Of the Black Vulture, there are four specimens in the Alipur Menagerie, all acquired by exchange which occupy the central of the western series of cages; while there is only one specimen of the Turkey Vulture, acquired by purchase, which occupies the southernmost of the western series of the cages. Some naturalists divide the Vulture family (Vulturidæ) into the Old World Vultures (Vulturinæ) and the New-World Vultures (Sarcorhamphinæ); while others classify the Old World Vultures as a sub-family (Vulturinæ) of the Falcons, and constitute the New World Vultures, which are distinguished by the possession of a perforated nostril, the absence of an "after-shaft" to the feathers and the possession of a small hind toe raised above the level of the other toes, into a distinct family (Cathartidæ) of the order Accipitres. These vultures being very aberrant forms of the Raptores, by reason of their differing from the ordinary Bird of Prey in their anatomy and osteology, some ornithologists have even gone the length of suggesting that they are more nearly allied to the Storks and even to the Hornbills. The family *Cathartidæ* includes three genera, viz., *Cathartes* (Turkey Vultures); *Sarcorhamphus* (Condors), and *Gypagus* (King Vultures). Besides the Black and the Turkey Vultures, referred to above, both of which belong to the genus *Cathartes*, the genus *Sarcorhamphus* is also represented in the Gardens by two fine specimens of the Condor, which has been noticed in one of my previous papers. Both the *Cathartes aura* (Turkey Vulture), and *C. atratus* (Black Vulture) are very abundant in many of the southern cities and villages of the United States, where they can be seen flying about the streets or perching on the house-tops as unconcernedly as if they were domestic animals. They are fond of feeding on carrion by reason of the fact that they cannot kill game themselves, and their beaks are not powerful enough to tear off the tough skin of many animals until it is softened by putrefaction. Dr. W. L. Ralph says:—"When they find a dead animal they will not leave it until all but the bones and other hard parts have been consumed, and if it be a

large one, or if it have a tough skin, they will often remain near it for days, roosting by night in the trees near by. After they have eaten—and sometimes they will gorge themselves until the food will run off their mouths when they move—they will—if they are not too full to fly, roost in the nearest trees until their meal is partly digested, and then commence eating again. Many times I have seen these birds in company with the Black Vulture floating down a stream on a dead alligator, cow, or other large animal, crowded so closely together that they could hardly keep their balance, and followed by a number on the wing. I have never seen them fight very much when feeding, but they will scold and peck at one another, and sometimes two birds will get hold of the same piece of meat and pull against each other until it breaks, or until the weaker one has to give it up."

Leaving the Birds of Prey House, we take a short cut to the aviary which is built on an arm of the serpentine lake just to the east of the Andul House. We find in this house a pair of the Australian Pelican (*Pelecanis conspicillatus*, Gould), which are labelled as having been obtained by exchange. It is a large bird with an immense yellow bill, hooked at the end, and an enormous gular pouch, and having black and white plumage. It is found in abundance in the southern creeks of Australia, and generally builds its nest on the shore. The Pelicans are distributed over the temperate and tropical parts of both the Old and the New Worlds. Almost all the species develop a patch of yellow or brown colour on the breast during the breeding season, as also a crest on the head. Confined in the same cage with the Australian Pelicans are a pair of the Roseate Pelican (*Pelecanus onocrotalus*) the plumage of which is of a beautiful rose-pink colour.

There is a tradition to the effect that the Pelican feeds her young ones with her own blood. This is, however, a myth, pure and simple, which has arisen from the fact of the bird pressing the red tip of its beak upon the breast in order to empty its pouch more easily, the crimson colour of the tip of the bill being mistaken for blood. This fable may have originated from another source. The Flamingo has the habit of feeding its young with a bloody-looking liquid which it squirts from its own mouth into the mouths of its young. This habit may have been transferred by mistake from the Flamingo to the Pelican. The celebrated antiquary, Sir Thomas Browne, pointed out the mistake long ago in his *Vulgar Errors*. He says that the so-called Pelican represented in ecclesiastical and emblematic paintings and carvings as feeding her young with her own blood, does not look quite like a Pelican.

Then we proceed to the Reptile House, where we find in the

westernmost of the northern series of wall-cages a fine specimen of the Green Coluber (*Coluber oxycephalus*, Boie). It is altogether new to the collection and is labelled as being from Tenasserim. This snake usually attains to a length of 7 feet 8 inches. The upper surface of its body is of a bright green colour; the scales being usually finely margined with black; and the lower surface is of a pale green colour. A blackish streak runs through the eye along each side of the head. Its tail is ordinarily of a yellowish brown colour. Its other characteristics are "snout subacuminate, more than twice as long as the eye, obliquely truncated and projecting. Rostral nearly as deep as broad, just visible from above; suture between the internasals much shorter than that between the præfrontals; frontal as long as its distance from the end of the snout, a little shorter than the parietals; loreal very elongate; one large præocular; two postoculars; temporals 2 and 3; 9 or 10 upper labials, two of which (fifth and sixth, or sixth and seventh) enter the eye; 6 lower labials in contact with the anterior chin-shields, which are much longer than the posterior. Scales in 25 or 27 rows, smooth or faintly keeled. Ventrals with a lateral keel, 236-263; anal divided; sub-caudals 138-149." It is distributed over Tenasserim, the Andaman Islands, the Nicobars, and all through the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago. Dr. Stolickza says that this snake is generally found on bushes near brackish-water creeks in the Andamans and always takes to the water. But nothing about its habits, as observed in the other parts of its habitat, has been recorded by naturalists. In captivity at Alipur, I found it to be of restless habits, always crawling about the floor and the sides of its cage. Its beautiful coloration makes it worthy of close inspection.

Leaving the Reptile House, we direct our steps to the new large building known as the Jubilee House, which has been erected in the north-western corner of the Gardens in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India. In two of the central cages of this house are exhibited specimens each of the Clouded Leopard from Assam and Borneo. The Clouded Leopard (*Felis nebulosa*) from Borneo has been acquired by purchase; while the one from Assam has been presented to the Gardens. In Borneo, this beautiful animal is known to the natives under the Malayan name of *Arimau Dahan*, or *tree-tiger*. The specimen from Borneo is of thick-set build, being short and squat in its proportions. Its body and tail are not so elongated as those of the Assam animal. But the body of the specimen from Assam is slim and elongated; and its tail is longer in length than its body, so much so that part of its tail trails along the floor of its cage. The height of the Bornean specimen

is greater than that of the one from Assam, so that the former looks like a big grey tortoise-shell cat, and the general aspect of the latter's body appears like that of a genet or a paradoxure. Except for the distinguishing features referred to above, both of them are of the size of small leopards. The general coloration of the upper surface of their body is ashy-grey. Their lower parts and the inner sides of their limbs are of white or pale tawny colour. The upper part of the head is spotted. Two broad black stripes, with narrower stripes, or elongated spots between them, commence between the ears, run back to the shoulders, and are drawn out; more or less regularly, as bands of large oval or elongate marks along the back of the animal. There are dark colored patches of subovate, trapezoidal, or irregular shape along the sides, the patches being sometimes edged with black. The limbs and underparts are blotched with large black spots. The tail is marked with numerous dusky rings. The outsides of the ears are black, and there is a grey spot in the middle thereof. Two black horizontal stripes run along the cheek, the upper stripe commencing from the eye. There is also an irregular black band across the chin and another on the throat. In some of the specimens, the margin of the upper lip is also black laterally. This beautiful and rare mammal is distributed over the South-Eastern Himalayas, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam and throughout the hilly regions of Burma, Siam, the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo. As its Malayan name indicates, it is of arboreal habits, living upon the trees, and preys upon small birds and mammals. So persistent is its arboreal habit that it preserves it even in captivity. The Clouded Leopard, which was obtained in 1879 by the Committee of the Calcutta Zoological Garden, used to climb up a tree and remain concealed amongst the foliage. This rare species is not altogether new to the collection, as two specimens of it from Assam were exhibited in the Gardens so long ago as 1879 and 1888. But the specimen from Borneo is the first of its kind exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Garden.

A few cages off, to the south of the Clouded Leopards, lives a specimen of the black variety of the Golden Cat (*Felis temmincki*) presented by Lieutenant Pottinger. It is otherwise known as the Bay Cat (*Felis moormensis*, Hodgs). Although two specimens of this rare cat presented by the Maharaja of Hill Tipperah have been exhibited before in the Gardens, the black variety of this species is new to the collection. It is lesser in dimensions than the Clouded Leopard. Its tail is nearly two-thirds the length of its head and body and is uniformly thick throughout. Its ears are short and rounded.

The coloration of the body is dark brown, paler on the sides. The under surface is paler than the sides and whitish. The chin and lower surface of the tail to the tip is white, while the upper surface of the tip is dusky. There are some dark round spots on the breast; on the inside of the fore-limbs and on the throat. The lower side of the tarsi and feet are brown. Its face is also blotched with marks of a dark colour. It is found throughout the South-Eastern Himalayas, Nepal, Sikkim and eastwards through Burma and the Malayan Peninsula to Sumatra and Borneo. These cats do well in captivity and are more active than other cats during the day-time. It has been recorded that one of the two specimens from Tipperah formerly exhibited in the Gardens used to hide its food under the straw litter of its cage and eat it at night. But, in the absence of further observations, it is impossible to ascertain whether it was the peculiar habit of the specimen to do so, or is the general habit of this species in a state of nature.

A little further to the south there lives, in one of the cages of this house, a single specimen of the Fennec Fox (*Canis cerdo*, Gmel.) of Northern Africa. It is a very beautiful little animal characterised by the possession of large eyes and long ears. Some naturalists have created a separate genus, *Megalotis*, for the reception of this singular animal, on account of its possessing enormously elongated ears. It frequents the desert tracts of Northern Africa, where it lives in burrows underneath the ground, generally near the roots of shrubs. Its power of digging burrows is so swift and rapid that it is believed it can often hide itself in this manner, when chased by the hunter. It subsists on small birds, lizards, beetles and grasshoppers, and even dates and melons. Some naturalists have identified these animals with "the little foxes that spoil the vines" mentioned in the Bible. They produce three or four young cubs at a time, which are very carefully reared by the mother. Hunters often capture this animal by fastening snares at the mouths of their holes, in which they get noosed while attempting to come out. When captured very young this animal becomes very tame.

In the adjoining cage to the south, lives a solitary though fine example of the Azara's Fox (*Canis azara*, Pr. Max.) of South America. Both the Fennec and this fox are labelled as having been obtained by exchange. The Azara's fox, though resembling a fox in all other respects, has its muzzle sharp, ears long and its tail long, thickly haired and gradually tapering at the end. Its coloration is ferruginous, slightly tinged with black. By reason of their possessing sharp muzzles and wolf-like skulls, some naturalists are of opinion

that the Azara's fox and its South American congeners are not true foxes. This fox is altogether new to the collection.

Retracing our steps southwards, we find our way to the Surnomoyi House, where we find in several cages specimens of the following species of American birds, all of which are new to the collection:—

Red-crested Cardinal (*Paroaria cucullata*, Lath.) Hab. South America.

Red-headed Cardinal (*P. larvata*, Bodd.) Hab. Brazil.

Virginian Cardinal (*Cardinalis virginianus*, Briss.) Hab. North America.

Black-headed Cardinal (*Gubernatrix cristatella*, Vieill.) Hab. South America.

Saffron Finch (*Sycalis flaveola*, Linn.) Hab. Brazil.

Blue Robin (*Sialia sialis*, Sw.) Hab. North America.

Among these birds, the Virginian Cardinal and the Blue Robin are deserving of special notice. The former belongs to the Finch Family (Fringillidæ). The males of this bird are red in colour and have the head of a vermillion hue, and a black patch round the base of the bill and on the upper part of the throat. The feathers of the crown are elongated into a crest, resembling a red cap. The females of this species are dull-coloured; the upper surface being fallow brown in colour, and the under parts being yellowish brown. It is found in great abundance in the Southern States of America generally, Texas, Florida, and migrates northwards in the spring. It is one of the most valued song-birds of America. It sings in loud, clear, sweet and varied notes, chiefly of mornings and evenings. The Blue Robin is noteworthy as being one of the favourite birds of the American poets. Lowell refers to it in the following verse:—

"The bluebird, shifting his light load of song
From post to post along the cheerless fence,"

The upper surface of this bird is of a sky-blue colour. Its throat and breast are of reddish chestnut; while the belly is white. The coloration of the females is duller than that of the males. It is a great favourite with all sorts and conditions of people in the United States, just as the Robin Redbreast is in England. Its call-note is very pleasing, so much so that an American author has very aptly characterised it as the "violet of sound." Its appearance is hailed by the people with delight as premonitory of the approach of the spring season; and American agriculturists welcome it by providing a box for it to build its nest in. It lays five or six eggs of a pale-blue colour twice or thrice during the year. The males of this species are remarkable for their devotion to their female mates. It is also found in the Bermudas, Mexico, the West

The following is a synoptical list of the mammals, birds and reptiles described in this paper, classified according to their orders, families, genera and species:—

CLASS MAMMALIA.

ORDER CARNIVORA.

FAMILY FELIDÆ.

GENUS FELIS.

1. *Felis nebulosa*, *Griffith*. Clouded Leopard.
Hab. Assam and Borneo.
2. *Felis temminckii*, *Vig.* and *Horsf.* Golden Cat (Black Variety).
Hab. Tipperah, Burma and Malayan Peninsula.

FAMILY CANIDÆ.

GENUS CANIS.

3. *Canis cerdo*, *Gmel.* Fennec Fox.
Hab. Northern Africa.
4. *Canis azaræ*, *P. Max.* Azara's Fox.
Hab. South America.

CLASS AVES.

ORDER PASSERES.

FAMILY FRINGILLIDÆ.

GENUS PAROARIA.

1. *Paroaria larvata*, *Bodd.* Red-headed Cardinal.
Hab. Brazil.
2. *Paroaria cucullata*, *Lath.* Red-crested Cardinal.
Hab. South America.

GENUS GUBERNATRIX.

3. *Gubernatrix cristatella*, *Viesill.* Black-crested Cardinal.
Hab. South America.

GENUS CARDINALIS.

4. *Cardinalis virginianus*, *Briss.* Virginian Cardinal.
Hab. North America.

GENUS SYCALIS.

5. *Sycalis flaveola*, *Linn.* Saffron Finch.
Hab. Brazil.

FAMILY TURDIDÆ.

GENUS SIALIA.

6. *Sialia sialis*, *Sw.* Blue Robin.
Hab. North America.

ORDER ACCIPITRES.

FAMILY CATHARTIDÆ.

GENUS CATHARTES.

7. *Cathartes atratus*, *Bartr.* Black Vulture.
Hab. America.
8. *Cathartes aura*, *Linn.* Turkey Vulture.
Hab. America.

168 NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

FAMILY FALCONIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY VULTURINÆ.

GENUS VULTUR.

9. *Vultur monachus*, Linn. Cinereous Vulture.

Hab. South Europe.

ORDER STEGANOPODES.

FAMILY PELECANIDÆ.

GENUS PELECANUS.

10. *Pelecanus conspicillatus*, Gould. Australian Pelican.

Hab. Australia.

CLASS REPTILIA.

ORDER SQUAMATA.

SUBORDER OPHIDIA.

FAMILY COLUBRIDÆ.

SUB-FAMILY COLUBRIDÆ.

GENUS COLUBER.

1. *Coluber oxycephalus*, Boie. Green Coluber.

Hab. Tenasserim.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

HATHWA :

The 1st December 1899. }

ART. XIV.—“THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOME OF THE
FAMOUS TEMPLES IN MALABAR.”

NO. I.—“*Thiruvilvāmalai*.”

GENERALLY speaking, two conditions are necessary to make a place holy in the eyes of the Hindoos ; the first being one of mere visitation only, and the second visitation, and, as a result, permanent stay. Both conditions are fulfilled in the case of “*Thiruvilvāmalai*,” the history of which is as follows :—

To begin with, *Thiruvilvāmalai* is only twenty miles to the west of Palghat in the Malabar district. The nearest station to it is “*Lakkadi*” on the Madras Railway, from which it takes out the time to cross a river, about a hundred or a hundred and twenty yards broad, to reach the foot of the hill on the summit of which the temple is situated. The position of the temple is such that it commands a perfect and complete view of the two ranges of mountains called respectively the “*Themmalai*” and the “*Vatamalai*,” and the descending plains between.

The hill slopes down on all sides to a rough circumference of three miles. The whole of this is bounded on the north by the “*Neela*,” popularly called the “*Bhārata*” river, and on the south by the “*Gāyathri*” river. These two, the “*Neela*” and “*Gāyathri*,” meet at an angle of nearly 30° to the west, thus forming the boundary on that side ; while a canal cut across and connecting the above two rivers determines the eastern boundary. Apparently, the place is situated in a triangle, the sides of which are formed by the “*Neela*” and “*Gayāthri*,” which meet at an angle to form the apex, the canal serving as the base.

Thus the situation of the place is most striking, while the surrounding waters, which are believed to be mysteriously connected with the waters of the “*Kāveri*,” cause it to be looked upon with devotion and reverence.

Though the hill is rugged, water is in plenty. There are many tanks which never dry up even in the droughty months of the year. But what is most peculiar about the whole place is the presence of many caves and underground passages connecting them. The chief amongst the caves is situated to the east of the temple and is called “*Punarjanani*.” As more will have to be said in connection with this particular cave, mere mention is made of it here.

For a further description of the place, with its many suggestive religious associations, reference may profitably be made

to the "Shānthapurana," a work containing the full discourse between the God Siva and his learned spouse "Pārvathi," regarding the greatness of Vishnu, the Almighty. In it the "Skāntha," a special book entitled the "Sthalapurāna," is devoted to describing the many excellences of this place. But it is a matter of deep regret that chapters three to eight of it, both inclusive, are now lost to us, and it is presumed (with what authority no one knows) that the missing chapters are in the possession of the "Moothannan" family of "Tirunelli" in the Wainad taluk. This family is to the Namboothiri Brahmins of Malabar, what the Gayawalis are to other Brahmins.

The above records show that the name "Thiruvilvāmalai" originated from the existence of a "vilva" tree, the "cratæva religiosa" situated inside a cave at the foot of the hill and to the west of it; the belief being that whoever ate a fruit of the said tree thenceforward attained an ever-existing body, free from all disease. Such being the peculiar properties ascribed to the tree, it soon lent its name to the hill on which it stood. Consequently the hill came to be called "vilvādri," i. e., hill of vilva, the "cratæva religiosa." The tree is to be perceived now, as formerly, only through the eye of knowledge, or "gnanathrishti."

Parasurāma, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, after extirpating the whole Kshatriya race no less than twenty-one times, and after making the whole Indian Peninsula over to sage Cāsyapa, wandered forlorn and friendless over the face of the wide world in search of some means wherewith to expiate his many sins, and especially the darkest sin of "Brahmakathi," i. e., "the killing of a Brahmin." Meeting his dead ancestors in his wanderings, he was told by them that, to free them from the purgatory they were in, he should enshrine an image of Vishnu in some holy place. They further instructed him for the nonce to go to Vilvādri, where Siva, with his host of demigods, was then worshipping an image of Vishnu. Accordingly Parasurāma went to Vilvādri, and, gladdening Siva's heart with the rigour of his penance, was presented with the above image by Siva.

Setting the face of the image to the east, Parasurāma consecrated it. This ceremony performed, he with his hatchet hewed off a big slice of rock to the north-east of the shrine and a few yards from it. A dozen water-springs at once opened their mouths and kept on ever-flowing and still flow. These springs Parasurāma pronounced holy, and to this day no one is permitted to touch the waters, as they serve the purpose of drinking-water for all the people round. And the temple authorities guard it most zealously, trying to keep it under the best sanitary conditions possible.

The above events are believed to have happened in the yuga of Dwapara of the 27th cycle of yugas. Thenceforward the place began to acquire such celebrity in the eyes of the pious that it was soon considered as second to none in sanctity.

Now it should be understood, for a clear conception of the whole situation, that within the temple there are two shrines located in two separate "Garbhagrihams," one facing the east and the other the west. The origin of the former has already been given as that in connection with the name of Parasurâma. That of the latter is as follows :—

A great Raja-yogi who was a son of sage "Kâsyapa," while doing penance at a place called "Thôkâmugham" in the north, heard from on high that he should go to Vilvâdri to perform the remainder of his penance, in recognition of which God would appear before him in the desired shape. Accordingly the yogi went to Vilvâdri and did as he was bid. There was then existing to the west of Parasurâma's shrine an Indian "Nelli" tree, the *phyllanthus emblica*, bearing fine fruit, the consumption of which enabled one to enter into an ever-existing state of body. The yogi availed himself of this and consequently acquired the name of "Amalakar," *i.e.*, one connected with the fruit "Amalakam," the Sanskrit name for the fruit of "*Phyllanthus emblica*."

There is a second story extant in connection with the origin of this shrine. Brahma, the God of Creation, extremely pained at the state of mankind, grovelling as they were in ignorance and sin, due to the satanic influence of "Kali," prayed Vishnu to incarnate once more in this world and free them. In response Vishnu gave Brahma to understand that, as it was impossible for mankind to escape the influence of "Kali," the only way of salvation for them lay in sincere devotion; and, as the masses required always some materialistic object before them to offer their poojah to, Brahma was further told that the spirit of Vishnu would descend and enter into a "Silai," *i.e.*, "a fixed idol of a temple, of stone not removed for processions, etc.," in the temple of Vilvâdri, where Amalakar was then performing his penance.

There is also a third story connected with the shrine. At this time there existed an asura, or monster, by the name of "Kumbhanâsika," who made himself the terror of the whole place, and to kill him was the immediate object of the descent of Vishnu.

There are many minor reasons given, but; as they do not fully bear out the relationship, they must be rejected.

In accordance with the three chief reasons cited above, one midnight during the "ekâthesi" in the month of "Kumbham," corresponding to the end of the third week, or the beginning

THE ANTIQUITIES OF SOME OF THE

of the fourth week of February, a transcendent and lurid light—"jyôthis"—was observable for four miles round Vilvâdri. This was the sign of descent vouchsafed so long. After this phenomenon Vishnu appeared before "Amalakar" with the full emblems; and, according to the prayer of Amalakar, the spirit of Vishnu entered into a Silai. This Silai is the second image of which I have been speaking, and it has its face turned towards the west, located as it is behind Parasurâma's shrine.

Within the four miles where the "jyôthis" was observed no "Melâcha" (and in Malabar the term *melâcha* is always associated with the Mapalahs) is allowed to set foot. This is owing to the fact that the head of the great Serpent-God "Anantha," on whom rests Vishnu, is believed to cover the whole place, and the light spoken of above is regarded as the reflection of the many gems embedded in Anantha's crown.

As a testimony of Vishnu having killed "Kumbhanâseka," people there even to this day point to a rocky hillock to the south of the temple, and immediately under it, as the one wherewith he was killed. The monster was crushed under the rock; and the rock acquired its name of "Râkshasapâra," i.e., rock which killed the Râkshasa. Hence, to use a vulgar phrase, irreverent though it may be, "God killed, not two birds, but three," with one stone.

Such are the facts connected with the founding of the temple on Vilvâdri, and the consecration of the two idols by "Parasurâma" and "Amalakar" in the 27th and 28th Cycle of yuga respectively. Thus we find the event dates far back into the past, and this remote antiquity contributes more than anything else to the sanctity of the temple.

That the temple on Vilvâdri acquired great celebrity during days long gone by, may be gathered from the following incident, which dates back to the pre-historic times of the "Pândavâs," the five brothers. They, in their twelve years wanderings in the forest, happened to lose each his way till at last they all happily, nay almost miraculously, met together again in a house which thenceforward became known as the "Ivarmatam," "house of five," situated on the north slope of Vilvâdri. Comparing notes, the Pândavâs came to the irresistible conclusion that their happy union was owing to the particular grace of the Vilvâdri God.

In commemoration of this event each of the five brothers separately founded a shrine on the banks of the "Neela" river to the north and east, under the direct shelter of the Vilvâdri nathan. "Dharma," the eldest, consecrated his shrine of "Somaswar" at a place called "Nôthakkurichi," a mile and a half to the east of Vilvâdri; "Arjuna," the third brother, consecrated his shrine of "Gôpâlar" in the Ivarmatam

itself, while Bhima, Nakula and Sahadeva consecrated theirs on the north bank of the Neela. Of all the above shrines that of Bhima is the most striking, as it is a counterpart of himself, measuring eight or nine feet high by four feet round.

The location of the two shrines is unique, and the principles upon which it was calculated were reduced to such nicety that it defied imitation even at the hands of "Indra," the King of the Devas. The story goes on to say that Indra, being apprised of the superiority of the above by "Nārada," the great muneer, determined to build a shrine on the same principles, but most vainly, as he had soon to retire, vanquished.

As will be remembered, mention was made in the beginning of a cave called "Punarjanani," situated to the east of the temple. The mouth of the cave is very wide and almost circular in shape, allowing a man to pass through erect. Within it there are many holy waters, the most important of them numbering six, which go by the following names:—

1. "Pāpavināsatheertham," believed to be mysteriously connected with the Kāneri, and offering the same religious advantages.
2. The Pāthālatheertham, which owes its existence to the beneficent influences of the many Raja-yogis who performed their penance on Vilvādri.
3. Ambutheertham, in the spot where the first arrow sent by Vishnu to kill the monster, alighted.
- 4 & 5. Kombutheertham and Kolambutheertham, presented by the great Kāmadhēnu to the Yogi Srīngi.
6. Ganapathitheertham, which will scatter all impediments to Thapas.

The above six waters are considered very sacred and they are believed to promise such advantages as are suggested and indicated by their separate names.

The passage which opens into the mouth of the cave from inside is very dark and gloomy, and overgrown with shrubs and plants of many kinds. There are, besides, many minor passages branching off from the main one and leading, it is believed, to places like Benāres, Rameswar, etc. The latter is only folklore which has become current in latter days. But apparently these caves and underground passages served in those days the purpose of our modern rest-houses and roads to the pious devotees who frequented Vilvādri, and, as they alone knew the secret of these passages, they managed to travel without fear of being molested during troublous times.

Connected with the cave and its passages there is a little story which it may not be out of place to tell here.

Two Namboothiri Brahmins (who were and are still pro-

verbially a parsimonious class), hearing of this easy route to Benâres, as likely to save them the expenses of travel, determined to make the venture. Resting for the night in a hostel hard by the temple, the Namboothiris, in the early morning before anybody was awake (for fear a stranger might follow them and perchance be thereby a gainer with them), entered the cave on their eventful journey. Proceeding onwards, the two adventurers, who were no way inferior to the prince of knight-errants, the immortal Don Quixote de-la Mancha, lost their way in the bewildering intricacies of the passages. Notwithstanding, they kept on, and the passage finally led them to a congregation of Rishis who were engaged in their religious tasks. Surprised at this strange intrusion, which was unprecedented, the Rishis enquired of the two who they were, and what they had come for? These questions being satisfactorily answered, the intruders were told that they had missed their way and must either go back the way they had come, or remain where they were. One of them agreed to stay with the Rishis, while his friend preferred to go home, having had, perhaps, enough of the trip to Benâres. Thereupon there became visible in his eyes a tank, with a Nelli tree, the "phyllanthus emblica," on its bank. He was asked to climb the tree and pluck a fruit; but, during the act he missed the fruit, which fell straight into the water beneath. The Namboothiri, not to be outdone thus, followed the fruit, sinking with it, and what he next saw was to find himself once more on "terra firma" at the mouth of the cave he had started from. Under the illusion that what had befallen him was only of yesterday's date, he went straight to the hostel where he remembered having left his bundle of clothes, the return of which he now claimed. But in the meanwhile no less than five generations had come and gone, while the story of the Namboothiri had become a fairy tale. The Namboothiri, despairing of convincing the people of his humanly improbable version, withdrew no one knows where.

I have given the story at some length as strengthening the popular belief as to the final destination of these passages, and also as to the interior of the cave, even to this day, being inhabited by Rishis engaged peacefully in their religious avocations. There are many eye-witnesses who swear to the fact that similar caves are now to be seen in "Panchavati," "Nâsik," and "Thapôvanam." But, as the writer unfortunately cannot boast of being one of them, he is unable to vouch for the truth of the statement.

As to the particular deities located within the temple, there are many perplexities and contradictions which are only of recent growth, and which find favour easily enough with the

the temple, as they were deemed dangerous. And curiously enough the "Mangalathillam" Namboothiris stoutly refuse to enter the temple or to become gainers by even a pie at the expense of the temple.

The above two incidents are taken from the "Granthavazhi," which is a Government record, showing in detail the origin, extent and nature of the temple property.

The temple was, down to the Malayalam year 994, corresponding to the Christian year 1819, under the complete control of six different Namboothiri families who were its "Uralons," i.e., managers. The following are the names of the six families :—

- (1) The Parasutayavar of Kizhkillam.
- (2) Do. do. of Kantangathu.
- (3) Do. do. of Kantanathu.
- (4) Do. do. of Vavathu.
- (5) Do. do. of Sankaranathu.
- (6) Do. do. of Ararathu.

Dissension soon broke out amongst the above families. Unable to manage the affairs of the temple, the Uralons, in 1819, made over the whole management to the Cochin Rajah, who at once pensioned them and appropriated the whole. Of the six families who were the original trustees of the temple, the last-named "Ararathu," has now become extinct. At present the temple is the property of the Cochin State. Once a year the Cochin Rajah pays a visit to it, and on such occasions makes a stay of at least a week.

On the whole, the affair of 1819 was a paying one, as the State is more than fully compensated for the attention and trouble the temple costs it.

THE QUARTER.

IT is not too much to say that, as far as Englishmen throughout the Empire are concerned, the history of the past three months is, to all intents and purposes, the history of the crisis in South Africa and the terrible struggle to which it has given rise. When we last wrote, war with the Transvaal was generally regarded as inevitable; though the precise time and manner of its breaking out were not foreseen. Time was so clearly on our side, that, when once the Government declared that it looked upon all previous proposals for a settlement as out of date and was proceeding to formulate fresh terms, the probability of the Boers taking the initiative must have been clearly recognised. That they would take it by formulating so insulting a document as the ultimatum presented to the British Agent at Pretoria on the 9th October, was certainly not anticipated.

That the British Government would treat this ultimatum as a declaration of war, was inevitable, though it was very far from being prepared for active operations, even of a defensive kind. The time fixed by the Transvaal Government for compliance with its monstrous demands expired on the evening of the 11th October, and on the same day the President of the Orange Free State issued a proclamation denouncing the British Government and calling upon its Burghers to "stand up as one man against the oppressor and violator of right," while commandoes of both States crossed the border into Natal in three columns, which advanced upon Newcastle and occupied it unopposed on the 14th.

Our patrols first came in contact with the enemy on the 18th October, and the next day a portion of the mail train from Ladysmith to Dundee was captured by them.

The first serious engagement, however, took place on the 20th. On that date the Boers occupied Talana Hill in force and began shelling the British Camp at Dundee, where the 1st Battalion of the King's Royal Rifles, the 2nd Battalion of the Dublin Fusiliers, the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, the 1st Battalion of the Leicestershires, the 18th Hussars, with three field batteries and a few Natal Mounted Police and Carabiniers, were assembled under the command of General Penn Symons.

After a sharp artillery duel which lasted two hours, the enemy's guns ceased to reply, and the order to take the Hill, which rises about 800 feet above the level of the intervening donga, and seemed almost impregnable, was given. After a

fierce struggle, which lasted eight hours, the position was carried, in the face of a terrific rifle fire, by the Dublins, the Rifles and the Irish Fusiliers. Unfortunately General Penn Symons fell mortally wounded in the action, our total casualties in which were ten officers and 33 men killed, and 22 officers and 159 men wounded.

A still more important action was fought the next day at Elandslaagte, the scene of the capture of the train some days before, by a force of about 3,200 men from Ladysmith, under the command of Major General French, when the Boers were again driven at the point of the bayonet from a strong position of their own choosing, our losses on the occasion being hardly less heavy than at Talana Hill, *viz.*, four officers and 37 men killed, and 31 officers and 175 men wounded. The enemy's loss was not ascertained, but must have been severe, several prominent officials and Commandant Ben Viljoen being among the dead, and Commandants Koch, Pinnaar and Pretorius, the German Colonel Schiel and Judge Kock among the wounded taken prisoners.

The following account of the position and fight is taken from the *Times*:—

The enemy were in position on a ridge about 800 feet above the level of the railway to the north of the Ladysmith-Dundee road. This ridge makes almost a right angle with the permanent way, but stands away from it about 2,000 yards. At the railway end rises a conical hill covering the whole top of the ridge, this kopje is connected by a nek to another hill, which absolutely sweeps the table summit of the ridge for 700 to 1,000 yards. These two kopjes and the nek were the main position held by the enemy, their laager being in the nek and their guns intrenched on the smaller hill. In front of the ridge extends an open valley of veldt, gently sloping upwards for 4,000 or 5,000 yards in the direction of Ladysmith, where it merges into a succeeding ridge. A few of the enemy held this succeeding ridge. These were turned out, as the infantry advanced across another stretch of open, by dismounted squadrons of the 5th Lancers and Imperial Light Horse. At 4 P.M. the infantry, the Manchester Regiment leading, supported by the Devonshire Regiment, with the half-battalion of Gordon Highlanders in reserve, began to form on the flat eminence, which I have called the succeeding ridge. As soon as they appeared on this exposed plateau the Dutch guns opened with common shell. Their ranging was good, but the fire was ineffective. As the Manchester Regiment moved to the right and the Devonshire Regiment developed on its left, the 21st Field Battery galloped up and came into action against the enemy's artillery at about 4,500 yards, being forced to unlimber without cover in the open space between the Devonshire and Manchester Regiments. For six minutes the enemy returned the fire, laying their guns with great accuracy on our battery in action. As an effect of this shell fire, Captain Campbell, R. A., was wounded in the leg, an ammunition wagon upset, and several men and horses killed and shattered. Just as the 42nd Field Battery came into action the enemy's guns ceased firing. But the position of their battery being declared, the artillery preparation on our part com-

menced. Sir George White and staff had arrived, and Sir George remained throughout the engagement without relieving General French from the direction of the operations. The scene during the short artillery preparation was a weird one, even for a battlefield. A huge bank of thunder-cloud formed a background to the Dutch position; one dense pall of cloud fringed with the grey of a setting sun. So dark was this background that every puff of bursting shrapnel showed distinctly to the naked eye. Ever and anon a blinding flash would momentarily chase the gloom away, causing the saw-edged limits of the ridge to stand out sharp and clear against the evening sky. The detonation of the guns and crashing of the galloping wagons seemed in harmony with peals of thunder which at periods dwarfed the din of battle. But the light was failing, night being hastened by the gathering storm-clouds, and after half an hour of preparation the order was given to Colonel Ian Hamilton to set his infantry machine in motion.

The order of the infantry attack was as follows:—The Devonshire Regiment was ordered to deliver a frontal attack, which necessitated their crossing the open plan of rolling veldt to which I have already referred. The Manchester Regiment was detailed to turn the enemy's left, and, advancing along the summit of the ridge, drive the Dutchmen back upon their main position; they were to be supported by the five companies of Highlanders. The two battaries were to support the infantry advance, moving in to closer ranges as the attack developed. In the first instance it will be better to follow the fortunes of the frontal attack. Major Park placed three companies in the firing line in the following order from the right:—F. Company (Lieutenant Field), G. Company (Lieutenant Caffin), D. Company (Captain Lafone). These were extended over a front of 400 or 500 yards and formed their own supports. The remaining four companies were in reserve under Major Currie, being in single rank, in column, with about 50 paces interval, which was increased when the enemy's guns came into action. As soon as the battalion was well over the plateau and descending into the valley, the enemy found them with shrapnel, but the missiles went high, or with extraordinary precision burst in the intervals between companies. The casualties from shell-fire were, therefore, slight, three men only from A. Company being hit. When the regiment had advanced to about 1,200 yards from the position, Major Park, who commanded his battalion with great coolness, halted it and opened fire, the only cover available being the ant-heaps with which the plain abounded. The battalion now came under a severe infantry fire, but nothing could have surpassed the steadiness with which this south country battalion moved forward. It had the admiration of all that day; its advance throughout was slow, deliberate, and irresistible. After firing a few volleys the firing line was reinforced with supports, and again steadily advanced. Though men were dropping fast and the air whistled with Mauser bullets there was no sign of streakiness, and though there was no cover the men stepped on undaunted until they were within 800 yards from the summit of the hill. The fading light and the colour of their uniforms probably saved them from the slaughter that one imagined must be in store for them, as they lay at the bottom of the depression, waiting for the flank attack to develop. Here, with the guns thundering above them and the soil torn with incessant rifle fire, they lay for over half an hour waiting for the moment when the advance should sound. Rarely has a regiment been so severely tried, never has one acquitted itself better.

While the Devonshire Regiment was lying in the valley taking advantage of what cover the ant-heaps could afford it, the flank attack on the enemy's left was developing. The Manchester Regiment had moved past the batteries, had been joined by a dismounted squadron of the Imperial Light Horse under Major Woods Sampson and Captain Mukins, and was pushing round to the lower summit of the range. The Gordon Highlanders followed in support. Just as the latter reached the foot of the ridge, the storm which had been threatening so long, burst, and in a few moments every one was drenched to the skin. The shower was sharp and short, but by the time it was over the Gordon Highlanders were among the stones which covered the crest of the ridge. Dropping shots were falling about them, a couple of men were hit, another shot dead, and then the supports were into the firing line and filling up the gaps in the line of the Manchester Regiment and the the Light Horse. There was a short plateau to cross, then a saving dip, with a climb to the main plateau again. Cheerily the men responded to their officers, and wave after wave of kilts and khaki swept up to the sky-line. Here they wavered and dropped, for of the first sections only one in four could pass. A moment they were checked; dead, wounded, and quick seemed sandwiched together amongst the boulders. Then their officers shouted them up. Again the sky-line darkened with lines of men bent double. Again they seemed to melt away; still were they fed from below. And then all were over, but not all, for 50 stout fellows lay prostrate in the clefts of the rain-washed stones. And when the dip was passed, what a task lay before them! They were called to face 600 yards of rough, rock-strewn open—intersected at intervals with barbed-wire fences. At the end rose a kopje, which commanded the plateau from end to end, as a butt would command a rifle range. No one could be seen but all could feel that that final kopje was alive with small-bore rifles. Stumbling forward among the stones, blundering over the bodies of their comrades as they fell before them, the men pressed on. It had ceased to be a moment for regimental commanders. Even sections could barely keep together; it was the brute courage of the individual alone that carried them on. Men stopped, lay under stones and fired, were shot as they lay or rose from cover to rush another dozen yards. Men and officers were slaughtered in batches at the fences. But here, in places, the rain of bullets had done the work of wire-cutters. More than halfway was won, and yet, though the summit of the kopje seemed one continued burst of shrapnel, the fire from it in no wise slackened. It seemed that the men had done all that could be done. Colonel Dick-Cunyngham was shot in two places, half the officers of the Gordon Highlanders were down. The level crest seemed strewn with countless casualties. The critical moment had arrived. It was to be victory now or never; Colonel Ian Hamilton ordered a buglar to sound the "Charge." Out rang the bugle, such buglers as were unhurt took up the note; Drum-Major Lawrence, of the Gordon Highlanders, rushed out into the open and headed the line, playing the fateful call. The sound of the Devonshire bugles came up from the valley bottom, and the persistent rhythm of their firing gave heart to the flank attack. Waves of glittering bayonets danced forward in the twilight. Twenty determined men still held the final kopje. Again the bugles sounded "the advance," then the "cease fire" rang out. There was a lull in the firing; men stopped and stood up clear of cover. In a moment the Boers re-opened and swept away a dozen brave men. But the dastardly ruse was a last and futile effort to save the day. Lieute-

nant Field, at the head of his company of the Devonshire Regiment, was into the battery with the bayonet; the men who had served the guns till the steel was 6 feet away from them were shot or bayoneted. Devons, Manchesters, Highlanders, and Light Horsemen met and dashed for the laager in the deep below. It was a wild three minutes; men were shouting "Majuba!" Then in honest cadence the "cease fire" sounded, the pipes of the Gordons skirled the regimental quick step, and we saw a sight which thrilled us all; the white flag fluttering from a Mauser carbine held by a bearded Boer.

To follow, in these pages, in anything like detail, the course of the campaign, would be impossible, and we have quoted the above description of one of the most gallant fights in the records of the British army mainly by way of vindicating our officers and men from any suspicion that might arise that the ill-fortune which has attended our arms on so many subsequent occasions has been in any degree due to lack of courage or determination on their part.

Unfortunately, as far as the attainment of the object of the war is concerned, the dearly bought victories of Talana Hill and Elandslaagte have been wholly thrown away. Two days after the former, our force, the command of which had in the meantime been assumed by General Yule, was compelled to evacuate Dundee, leaving its wounded to the care of the enemy, and fall back upon the main body of Sir George White's army at Ladysmith. While this operation was being carried out, Sir George White, with a strong force from Ladysmith, engaged and defeated the enemy at Rietfontein, about seven miles from that place, thus saving General Yule from a flank attack.

In spite of every effort, however, it soon became apparent that Sir George White was not in nearly sufficient force to prevent the enemy from hemming him in. By the 28th October, they were closing in round the town, which stands in the hollow of a horseshoe, with hills rising in front, and ridges on either flank, but open to the rear, and two days later they began bombarding the town. An attempt made on the 30th October by Sir George White, in full strength, to push back the enemy, though partially successful as far as the main attack was concerned, was attended by a serious disaster to a column consisting of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, No. 10 Mountain Battery, and the Gloucestershire Regiment, which had been detached on the previous night to seize Nicholson's Nek, or some neighbouring position, on the left flank, and which was surrounded and compelled to capitulate after losing practically the whole of its gun equipment and small arms ammunition through the stampeding of the mules. Since then Ladysmith has been completely invested and almost daily bombarded by the enemy, who, however, have failed to make

any impression on the defences. The investment of Ladysmith was followed quickly by the evacuation of Colenso, which had ceased to be tenable by the small garrison there, and shortly afterwards was occupied by the enemy.

At a comparatively early stage of the Transvaal crisis, a contingent, of all arms, numbering about five thousand men, was requisitioned from this country for service in South Africa, and the entire force embarked within about a fortnight of the receipt by the Viceroy of the telegram conveying the order, and had reached Durban before the actual outbreak of hostilities. On the 7th October orders were issued by the Commander-in-Chief in England for the mobilisation of a complete Army Corps, consisting of a Cavalry Division and three Infantry Divisions, with corps troops and artillery, aggregating in all some 47,000 men. The embarkation of the 1st Division, commanded by Lord Methuen, began on the 20th October, and the other Divisions followed in quick succession. In the middle of November it was determined to despatch a 5th Division, comprising some 11,000 officers and men to the seat of war, under Sir C. Warren, the greater part of whom have already arrived at Cape Town and Durban, and a 6th and 7th Division have since been ordered out. The whole of the Reserves have been called out and incorporated in the various Divisions. At the same time the Militia have been invited to volunteer for service outside the Kingdom; a force of Yeomanry Cavalry has been selected for service in South Africa, and arrangements are in progress for the employment in the same service of a contingent of selected volunteers of whom several thousand have already come forward.

General Sir Redvers Buller, who was appointed to the Chief Command in South Africa, reached Cape Town on the 30th October, and, having, on his arrival there, decided on directing the operations in Natal in person, left for Durban, where he arrived on the 25th November, and went at once to the front.

A force for the relief of Ladysmith was subsequently concentrated at Chieveley, some six miles to the south of Colenso, where the enemy had entrenched themselves in a very strong position on the north bank of the Tugela river. On the morning of the 15th December, General Buller advanced in full strength and attempted to force the passage of the river there, but sustained a serious reverse, losing eleven guns, owing to a lamentable error of judgment on the part of the officer commanding them, and 1,100 men, killed, wounded and missing, and was compelled to withdraw to his former position at Chieveley, where he has since remained awaiting re-inforcements.

In an official despatch describing this disastrous affair, he says:—

I regret to report a serious reverse. I moved in full strength from camp near Chieveley at four o'clock this morning.

There are two fordable places in the Tugela. My intention was to force passage at one or other with one brigade, supported by the central brigade.

General Hart was to attack by the left Drift, and General Hildyard by the right.

General Lyttleton in the centre was to support either according to circumstances.

Early in the day I saw that General Hart was unable to force the passage, and I directed him to withdraw. He had, however, attacked with great gallantry, and his leading battalion, the Connaught Rangers, I fear, suffered a great deal.

Colonel Brooke was severely wounded.

I then ordered General Hildyard to advance, which he did. His leading regiment, the East Surrey, occupied Colenso Station and the houses near the bridge.

At that moment I heard that the whole of the artillery I had sent to support that attack, the 14th and 16th Field Batteries, with six naval 12-pounders, under Colonel Long, were out of action.

It appears that Colonel Long, desiring to be within effective range, advanced close to the river. It proved to be full of the enemy, who suddenly opened a galling fire at close range, killing all the horses and the gunners, who were compelled to stand to their guns. Some wagon teams got sheltered.

The troops in the donga and others made desperate efforts to recover and bring away the field guns, but the fire was too severe, and only two guns were saved, by Captain Schofield and some drivers.

Another most gallant attempt was made by an officer, whose name I will obtain.

Of eighteen horses thirteen were killed, and as several drivers were wounded, I refused to allow another attack.

As the gallant attempt of the infantry to force a passage, unsupported by artillery, was a useless sacrifice of life, I directed the troops to withdraw, which they did in good order.

Throughout the day a considerable force of the enemy were pressing on my right flank, but were kept back by the mounted infantry, under Lord Dundonald and a part of General Barton's brigade.

The day was intensely hot and most trying to the troops, whose conduct was excellent.

We abandoned ten guns, and one was destroyed by the shell fire. The losses of General Hart's brigade, I fear, were very heavy, though the proportion of severely wounded, I hope, may not prove to be large.

The 14th and 16th batteries also suffered severely.

I have retired to our camp at Chieveley.

The result of this check has been to defer indefinitely the relief of Ladysmith, where supplies for man and beast, if not ammunition, must now be rapidly running out, and, in spite of frequent more or less successful sorties, the position must, in a few days, become desperate.

There are indications, however, that General Buller is about to renew his attempt to join hands with the besieged force, and the removal of his camp to a position further to the south, said to have been determined on by him within the last few days, probably points to a change of plan.

Turning to Cape Colony, the North Eastern extremity of which has been invaded by the forces of the Orange

Free State, the chief interest has centred so far in the operations of the Division under Lord Methuen, who is advancing on the extreme left to the relief of Kimberley; which, as well as Mafeking, has been invested by the enemy, the line between DeAar junction and Dordrecht, which, along with Stormberg, has been occupied by the enemy, being held in the meantime by Generals French and Gatacre.

After fighting two successful actions at Belmont and Gras Pan and driving the enemy from both positions, Lord Methuen, on the 28th November, after a fight, which lasted from morning till nightfall, succeeded in forcing the passage of the Modder River, on the further bank of which they had established themselves, to the number of about 11,000, in a carefully prepared position. The fighting was of the severest kind, our men, during their advance to and across the river, having to face a devastating fusillade without cover, and our losses in killed and wounded amounted to 20 officers and about 450 men. The Boers evacuated the town during the night, taking away their wounded and guns, the exhausted condition of our men and the want of sufficient cavalry, as after Lord Methuen's previous actions, preventing any attempt at pursuit, and occupied a fresh position at Magersfontein, some miles further North on the road to Kimberley. Here, on the 10th December Lord Methuen again attacked them, but only to sustain a severe reverse, an attempt to storm the enemy's entrenchments being repulsed with a loss of over 800 in killed, wounded and missing, the Highland Brigade alone, which, owing to an inexplicable blunder, came within point blank range of the enemy's fire in close order, losing between six and seven hundred of their number, including Colonel Wauchope, their Commander, killed, and a large number of other officers, killed and wounded. Lord Methuen was compelled to retire, on the following morning, to his previous position, on the Modder River, where he has since remained entrenched.

Another serious reverse, though of less strategical importance, has been sustained by the force under General Gatacre, who was misled by his guides in an attempt to take the Boer position at Stormberg by surprise. The entire frontier in that direction, is in a state of rebellion, and General Gatacre has been compelled to withdraw to the south. General French at Arundel, on the other hand, has so far succeeded in holding his own with his small command, and has worsted the enemy in several skirmishes. General Buller's defeat at Colenso was promptly followed by the appointment of Lord Roberts to the Supreme Command in South Africa, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of the Staff, and both officers are now well on their way to Cape Town.

The situation at the present moment is of the gravest. Since the outbreak of hostilities, we have lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, upwards of 6,000 men, to say nothing of guns and material of war. Of our remaining forces in South Africa, some 15,000 have been, for two months or more, surrounded by the enemy under conditions which make their ultimate capitulation only too probable; considerable portions of our territories are in the possession of the enemy, who, in spite of every attempt to drive them back, are daily strengthening their hold upon them; and, without a large addition to the force of about 80,000 men still at our disposal in Cape Colony and Natal, there would seem to be no immediate prospect of our being able to do more than check their further advance.

From the Soudan came, on the 23rd November, the welcome news that Colonel Wingate, with a force of Egyptians, had attacked and routed Ahmed Fedil, the Mahdi's Lieutenant; and this was followed, two days later, by the further announcement that he had overtaken and completely destroyed the Khalifa's force at Jedid, the Khalifa himself being killed, and all his principal Emirs, with the exception of the notorious Osman Digna, being either killed or captured.

It is announced that an important agreement has been arrived at between Great Britain and Germany with regard to Samoa, by which Great Britain renounces all rights in the islands, Upolu and Savaii being assigned to Germany, and Tutuila to the United States. At the same time Germany renounces, in favour of Great Britain all her claims to the Tonga Islands, Savage Island and the East Solomon Islands; and Germany also agrees to abandon her extra-territorial rights in Zanzibar whenever other nations give up theirs, and consents to a demarcation of the frontier between the Hinterland of German Togo-land and the British Gold Coast Colony.

In his message to Congress, President McKinley said that America remained faithful to the principle of avoiding entangling alliances, involving her in affairs not directly concerning herself. America's attitude towards England and the Transvaal would be impartial.

The President referred in most cordial terms to the relations with France, Germany, and Great Britain, and urged that measures be taken to ensure the continuance of the gold standard. He reiterated the promise of independence for Cuba when the pacification of the island was accomplished. It was impossible, he said, for the United States to renounce authority in the Philippines. He recommended the appointment of a Commission to study the commercial and industrial possibilities of China.

The House of Representatives subsequently passed the Government Currency Bill by a majority of 40.

Among noteworthy events of the period under review, has been the visit of the Emperor of Germany, with the Empress and two of his sons, to the Queen at Windsor, to which, in view of the remarks made by Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech at Leicester, regarding an alliance of understanding between the two countries, more than a mere domestic significance may reasonably be attached.

Apart from the famine from which Rajputana and the Central Provinces and parts of Bombay, the Punjab and the North-West Provinces are suffering, but which, though it bids fair to equal, if not surpass, in severity that of three years ago, has attracted comparatively little public attention; the destructive series of landslips which occurred at Darjeeling in the latter end of September and were attended by serious loss of life, and the Viceregal tour which has been of an unusually extended character, but little has occurred in India since we last wrote to call for notice in this place.

The number of persons in receipt of public relief in the famine-stricken districts already exceeds two-and-a-half millions; but there is reason to fear that, owing to the fact that the greater part of the territory affected is under Native rule, the figures afford a very imperfect index of the severity of the visitation.

The Plague still retains its hold on Bombay, where the mortality from the disease has lately shown a large increase, and a somewhat serious outbreak is reported from Behar; but, speaking generally, there are indications that the epidemic is on the wane.

An important Bill for the better regulation of cooly emigration to Assam was introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council on the 13th October. The main features of the measure, the principal object of which is to prevent the malpractices that have sprung up in connexion with recruiting are described as follows by Mr. Rivaz, who introduced it: (1) We empower the local Government to prohibit all persons from recruiting or engaging or assisting any native of India to emigrate from any specified part of its territories, to any or all the labour districts, otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of the Act. When such a notification issues, it will completely stop the present unlicensed and uncontrolled system of "free" recruiting, by making it punishable as a criminal offence. (2) Having brought the present unlicensed contractors and recruiters under license and control, we further require that they shall register the emigrant in the district in which he has been actually recruited, and before a responsible officer, and that they shall subsequently enter into a labour contract with the registered emigrant, if not in the

actual district of recruitment, at least at some central place near such district. We do away with the special procedure under which a labour contract for any district in the Assam Valley can at present be entered into by a so-called "free emigrant" at Dhubri. (3) We provide for an interval of at least three days between the registration of intending emigrants and the execution of contracts by them. (4) We make additional provisions for repatriating labourers found to have been enticed away from their homes by fraud, or to have been forced away by violence, or rejected by the Registering Officer. (5) We prohibit the execution of a penal contract by a woman without the consent of her husband or lawful guardian. (6) We provide that medical examination of labourers intending to proceed to the labour districts on the point of physical fitness to labour, be made compulsory in recruiting districts in the case of contractors' coolies. (7) We provide that when a labourer is convicted of desertion, he shall not be liable to be detained or to be returned to the garden he left for any period beyond the last day of the contract he broke by desertion. (8) We raise the minimum contract wage prescribed by the present law from Rs. 5 in the case of a man and Rs. 4 in that of woman to Rs. 6 and Rs. 5 respectively. (9) We make minor alterations as to the amounts of license fees payable by contractors, sub-contractors, and recruiters. (10) In addition to these amendments of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, we are separately proposing that Bengal Act, I of 1889, relative to sanitary control over arrangements for free emigrants *en route* to Assam, be made extendible to the Central and North-West Provinces and any other Province from which labourers may be recruited in future, and that its scope be enlarged, so as to give Local Governments power to frame rules to give their officers definite powers of entry and inspection of depôts and rest-houses for other than sanitary purposes.

The Government of India has also recorded a remarkable Resolution on the subject of public education, insisting among other things, on the necessity of more effective supervision by the Local Governments; on a gradual reduction of the expenditure of Provincial revenues on advanced, as compared with primary, education; of greater effort to further the latter, and of a more adequate provision for the training of teachers.

The Punjab Courts and Central Provinces Wards Bills have been passed by the Council, and the Calcutta Municipal Act Amendment Bill has received the Viceregal assent.

Sir Henry Stafford Northcote has been appointed to succeed Lord Sandhurst as Governor of Bombay, and Sir Edward

Fitzgerald Law, K.C.M.G., to be Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council in the place of Mr. Clinton Dawkins, who retires next March.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of the Marchioness of Salisbury; Lord Farrer; Surgeon-General Sir C. A. Gordon, K.C.B.; the Rt. Hon'ble J. Monroe; Mr. R. P. Jenkins, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service; Colonel Sir Charles P. P. H. Nugent, K.C.B.; Vice-Admiral Colomb; Mr. W. E. Metford; Mr. Grant Allen; Signor Foli; Major General Sir W. Penn-Symons, K.C.B.; Mrs. Francis Lean (Florence Marryatt); Rev. E. L. Berthon; Lieutenant Colonel Henry Hay; Lieutenant-General C. W. Younghusband, C.B., F.R.S.; Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Keith Falconer; Colonel E. A. Travers; Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. Wrottesley, R. E.; Dr. Moritz Busch; Sir William Dawson; Sir Richard Moon; Mr. T. Macknight; Sir R. W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B.; General Wauchope; Colonel Coode; Colonel Goff; the Marquis of Winchester; General Sir Gerald Grahame; Major-General W. R. White; Major-General E. Moberley, C. B. R. A.; Colonel Northcote; Colonel Stopford.

December 29, 1899.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

SIR,

• YOU say that I fail to explain the action of matter upon soul. I have not, I think, left the subject altogether untouched; but, as it related, not to gross, but to fine matter, what I said may be unintelligible to many.

Have I not, in the 9th paragraph of my article in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1898, explained the effect of Draba Karamas upon soul? Have I not said there that Draba Karamas are nothing but the assemblages of the atoms of matter? Have I not pointed out, in my last reply to the Editor's note, that the nature of matter is to produce Rag Dwaish and Moh in soul?

It is the Editor's fancy that he thinks Jainism to split upon this rock. Of course Jainism cannot accept the Cartesian doctrine of "Occasional Causes," or the cognate theory of Pre-established Harmony of Leibnitz, because both of them fall short of explaining the phenomenon from the powers within soul and matter themselves, but require the interference of God, though the former, a constant interference, and the latter His interference in the very beginning. But interference of any kind whatever on the part of God, which necessarily imputes passions and affections to Him, and consequently degrades and makes Him a sort of worldly being, is contrary to the Jain doctrine that God is Bitrag.

According to Jainism, soul and matter are, from eternity, intermingled with each other, each acting upon the other, and consequently soul cannot manifest its Suvabhava (nature), that is, its power of Gyan (knowledge), in full. When soul gets rid of matter, it becomes All-knowing, and is not then said to be in the worldly condition, but acquires the highest rank, that is, that of God.

Now, as to how matter and soul act upon each other, there is an undeniable principle that, when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and they form a combination which is something different from either. Now the attribute of soul is its power of knowing, while that of matter is its power of attraction and

repulsion. As Sansari Jiva (worldly soul) and Pudgul (matter) are in a state of bondage, matter tends to produce attraction and repulsion in Jiva, and the result is that Jiva (soul) manifests love and hatred.

Now let us see what are love and hatred. Love is soul's tendency of being attracted towards any particular thing; while hatred is that of its being repulsed. When soul feels a sort of attachment or attraction towards a thing, it is said to have love for that thing. In the same way, when soul feels a sort of detachment or repulsion from a thing it is said to have hatred towards it. Love and hatred are, in reality, conditions of Gyan (knowledge), adulterated by attraction and repulsion, which are the attributes of matter.

Thus, when matter is in contact with soul, it produces attraction and repulsion, or, in other words, love and hatred in it.

On the other hand, soul also acts upon matter. When soul is in bondage with matter, it produces a sort of Gyan or animation in it. Thus we see our body is not altogether dead matter, but it has something like Gyan (knowledge) in it. Besides our body, which is gross matter, soul is also intermingled with imperceptible assemblages of the atoms of matter, which are also animated by the action of soul, and which govern the gross body.

Of course, as we cannot see soul and the atoms of matter, we cannot see their action, but we find that gross matter (objects surrounding us) do produce love and hatred, pleasures and pains in us, hence we can fairly infer that the same must be the case with the atoms of matter; and, as our body is animated by the action of soul, the atoms of matter which are intermingled with it, must also be animated by the same action.

Thus, about the action of matter upon soul, there might be raised two questions.

1. What effect does matter produce in soul ?
2. How does it produce it ? And the answer to both these questions can be satisfactorily gathered from the above.

RICKHAH DASS JAINI, B.A.,
Near Jain Temple,

Meerut City.

Note.—I wish to inform English-knowing Jains and those who take interest in this religion that an Association, named, the Jain Young Men's Association of India was established under the patronage of Raja Seth Lakshman-Dass, C.I.E., of Muthra in the month of October, 1899, at Muthra. The objects of this Association are to

create union and sympathy amongst the English-knowing Jains ; to make social reforms and religious improvements ; to promote religious learning hand in hand with English education, and to settle in life the educated Jains, and to secure the help of influential gentlemen for this purpose.

A meeting of this Association was held in the Connaught Hall, Town Hall, Meerut, on the 8th December; Róy Phul Chand Róy, B.A., Assistant Engineer, Punjab, presiding ; wherein several speeches on religious and social subjects were delivered.

Any further information about this Association can be had from B. Sultan Singh Jaini, Pleader, Meerut.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Isa, Kena and Mundaka Upanishads, and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by S. SITARAM SASTRI, B. A. Published by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B. A., B. L., Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers and Publishers, Esplanade, Madras, 1898.

The Katha and Prasna Upanishads and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by S. SITARAM SASTRI, B. A. Published by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, Madras, 1898.

The Chhandogya Upanishad and Sri Sankara's Commentary. Translated by GANGANATH JHA, M. A., F. T. S. Published by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B. A., B. L., M. R. A. S., Vakil, High Court, Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, Madras, 1899.

THESE volumes contain the texts of the Isa, Kena, Mundaka, Katha, Prasna and part of the Chhandogya Upanishads, with literal translations, and also translations of the Commentaries of the renowned Sri Sankaracharya on the texts, unaccompanied by notes or original matter of any kind. As, to the best of our belief, it is the first time that Sri Sankara's Commentaries have been given to the world in an English dress the work is one of considerable importance, though it necessarily appeals only to a very limited class of readers. The names of the translators are sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of their work.

Rulers of India. Bābar. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M. A., Professor of Arabic at Trinity College, Dublin, Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1899.

IT is sufficient praise of this welcome addition to the "Rulers of India" series, that it presents us with a simple, clear, and, for the purpose, adequate, account of the career of one of the most fascinating figures in history. If we have any fault to find with it, it is that, curiously enough, the author, while he is evidently animated by a lively sympathy with the subject of his memoir, nowhere, that we have been able to discover, gives us a succinct estimate of his character. Unsurpassed among men for courage and fortitude, and among sovereigns

for magnanimity ; incapable of treachery or meanness ; open-hearted almost to a fault ; hardly less abounding in clemency to his enemies, than unswerving in fidelity to his followers and friends, the founder of the Moghul Empire, if not wholly without reproach, has left behind him a name which, but for the fierce light that beats about even an Oriental throne, might be accounted stainless.

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has, wisely and appropriately, left Bábar, who, like his Anglo-Saxon prototype, was author and poet as well as warrior and king, tell, as far as might be, his own story ; and never was a story, more full of strange vicissitudes and hair-breadth escapes, told by its hero with greater grace or less self-consciousness than that embodied in the *Tuzak-i-Bábari*.

Bábar's Memoirs, Mr. Lane-Poole justly says, "are no rough soldier's chronicle of marches and countermarches, saps, mines, blinds, gabions, palisadoes, ravelins, half-moons, and such trumpery ; they contain the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well read in Eastern literature, a close and curious observer, quick in perception, a discerning judge of persons, and a devoted lover of nature ; one, moreover, who was well able to express his thoughts and observations in clear and vigorous language. *

* * * The man's own character is so fresh and buoyant, so free from convention and cant, so rich in hope, courage, resolve, and at the same time so very human, that it conquers one's admiring sympathy. The utter frankness of self-revelation, the unconscious portraiture of all his virtues and follies, his obvious truthfulness and fine sense of honour, give the Memoirs an authority which is equal to their charm. If ever there were a case when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence, should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Bábar's Memoirs. No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler."

It is not our business here to give any account, however brief, of the chequered life of this extraordinary character. But we may appropriately give an extract from the autobiography from which the reader may judge of its general flavour, and form some idea of its almost unique interest.

During his exile, after his second conquest of and flight from Samarkand, Bábar had been invited by Shaikh Bayazid to Akhsi. Accepting the invitation, he arrived there and took up his quarters in the fort, only to find the place presently besieged by his old enemy Tambal at the head of two or three thousand men. With his usual carelessness, he had not thought of seizing the castle, the key of the position, or even of setting a

guard over the bridge by which Tambal must cross. Flight was his only available resource, and it is the story of his escape, and the adventures which followed, that is told in the fragment quoted :—

"We had no sooner come opposite the gate than we saw Shaikh Báyazíd, with a quilted gambeson over his vest; he had just then entered the gateway with three or four horsemen, and was riding into the town. . . . I immediately drew to the head the arrow that was in my notch, and let him have it full. It only grazed his neck, but it was a fine shot. The moment he had traversed the gate he turned short to the right and fled in a panic down a narrow lane. I pursued. Kúli Kudildāsh struck down one foot-soldier with his mace, and had passed another, when the fellow aimed an arrow at Ibráhim Beg, who balked him by shouting "Hai! Hai!" and went on; but the man, being no further off than the porch from the hall, let fly an arrow which hit me under the arm. I had on a Kalmák mail, and two of its plates were pierced and shivered by the shot. Then he fled and I sent an arrow after him, which caught a foot-soldier who happened just then to be flying along the rampart, and pinned his cap to the wall, where it struck transfixed, dangling from the parapet. He took his turban, twisted it round his arm, and ran off. A man on horseback passed close to me, rushing up the narrow lane. I gave him the point of my sword on the temple; he swerved over as if to fall, but caught the wall, and thus supported recovered his seat and escaped.

"Having scattered all the horse and foot that were at the gate, we took possession of it. There was now no reasonable chance of success, for they had two or three thousand well-armed men in the citadel, while I had only a hundred, or at most two hundred, in the outer stone fort; and besides, about as long before this as milk takes to boil, Jahángír Mirzá had been beaten and driven out, and half my men with him. Yet such was my inexperience that, posting myself in the gateway, I sent a messenger to Jahángír to bid him join me in another effort. But in truth the business was over. . . . We continued waiting at the gate for the return of my messenger. He came and told us that Jahángír was already gone some time. It was no season for tarrying, and we too set off: indeed my staying so long was very unwise. Only twenty or thirty men now remained with me. The moment we moved off, a strong troop of the enemy came smartly after us; we just cleared the drawbridge as they reached its town end. Banda 'Alí Beg called out to Ibráhim Beg, "You are always boasting and bragging: stop and let us exchange a few sword-cuts." Ibráhim, who was close to me, answered, "Come on, then; what lets you?" Senseless madcaps, to bandy pretensions at such a moment! It was no time for a trial of skill, or any sort of delay. We made off at our top speed, the enemy at our heels. They brought down man after man as they gained on us.

"Within a couple of miles of Akhsi there is a place called the Garden-Dome. We had just passed it when Ibráhim Beg called loudly to me for help. I looked round and saw him engaged with a home-bred slave of Shaikh Báyazíd. I turned at once to go back, when Ján Kúli and Biyún Kúli, who rode beside me, seized my rein and hurried me on, saying, "What time is this for turning back?" Before we reached Sang (three miles from Akhsi) they had unhorsed most of my followers; but after Sang we saw no more pursuers. We followed the river of Sang, being then only eight men. A sort of defile leads up stream among broken glens, far from the beaten track. By this unfrequented path we went, till, leaving the river on the right, we struck into another narrow track. It was about afternoon prayers when we came out from the glen upon the level country. There we saw a black spot far off on the plain. I put my men under cover, and crept up a hillock on foot to spy what it might be; when suddenly a number of horsemen galloped up behind us: we could not tell how many there were, but took to our horses and fled. The horsemen who followed us (I afterwards learnt) were not above twenty or twenty-five in all, and we were eight. Had we but known their number at first we should have given them warm work, but we thought they were in force; and so we continued our

flight. The truth is that the pursued are no match for the pursuers, even though numbers be in their favour, for

A single shout is enough to finish the vanquished.

'Ján Kúli said, 'We cannot go on like this; they will take us all. Do you and the foster-brother (Kukildásh) take the two best horses of the party and galloping together keep the spare horses on your bridle; perhaps you may escape.' The advice was good; but I could not leave my followers dismounted in presence of the enemy. At last my party began to separate and drop behind. My own horse began to flag. Ján Kúli dismounted and gave me his. I leapt down and mounted his horse; and he mounted mine. At this instant Shahím Násir and 'Abd-al-Kaddús, who had fallen behind, were unhorsed by the enemy. Ján Kúli also dropped behind, but it was no time to try to shield or help him. We pushed our horses to their utmost stretch; but they gradually lagged and slacked. Dost Beg's horse was done up and dropped behind, and mine began to give signs of being worn out. Kambár 'Ali dismounted and gave me his horse. He mounted mine, and presently fell behind. Khwája Husaini, who was lame, turned aside to the heights. I was left alone with Mirzá Kúli Kukildásh.

Our horses were past galloping; we went on at a canter, but Kúli's horse went slower and slower. I said, "If I lose you, whither can I go? Dead or alive we will keep together." I held on my way, turning from time to time to watch him. At last he said, "My horse is utterly blown, and you cannot escape encumbered with me. Push on and shift for yourself; perchance you may still escape." I was in a horrible situation. Kúli then fell behind, too, and I was alone. Two of the enemy were in sight . . . they gained on me; my horse flagged. There was a hill about a couple of miles off, and I came up to a heap of stones. My horse was done up; I considered, and the hill yet a considerable way ahead. What was to be done? I had still about twenty arrows in my quiver. Should I dismount at this heap of stones, and hold my ground as long as my arrows lasted? But then it struck me I might yet be able to win the hill, and if I did I could stick a few arrows in my belt and manage to climb it. I had great faith in my own nimbleness. So I kept on my course. My horse could make no speed, and my pursuers got within bowshot of me; but I was sparing of my arrows and did not shoot. They too were chary, and came no nearer than a bowshot, but kept tracking me.

I drew near the hill about sunset, when they suddenly called out to me "Where are you going; that you fly in this manner? Jahángir Mirzá has been taken and brought in, and Násir Mirzá has been seized." I was greatly alarmed at these words, for if all [three] of us fell into their hands, we had everything to dread! I made no answer, but kept on for the hill. When we had gone a little further they called to me again, speaking more graciously, and dismounting from their horses to address me. I paid no attention, but kept on my way, and entering a gorge, began to ascend it, and went on until about bedtime prayers, when I reached a rock as big as a house. I went behind it, and found an ascent of steep ledges where the horse could not keep his footing. They also dismounted, and began to address me still more courteously and respectfully, expostulating and saying, "What end can it serve to go on thus in a dark night, where there is no road? Where can you possibly go?" They both solemnly swore that "Sultán Ahmad Beg [Tambal] wishes to put you on the throne."

I answered, "I can put no trust in anything of the sort, nor could I possibly join him. If you really wish to do me an important service, you have now an opportunity which may not recur for years. Point me out a road by which I may rejoin the Kháns, and I will show you kindness and favour beyond your utmost desire. If you will not, then return the way you came, and leave me to accomplish my fate—even that will be no slight service." "Would to God," they exclaimed, "that we had never come; but as we are here, how can we desert you in this desolate situation? Since you will not accompany us to Tambal, we shall follow and serve you, go where you will." I said, "Swear then to me by the Holy

"Book that you are sincere in your offer." And they swore that tremendous oath. I now began to have some confidence in them; and said, "An open road was once pointed out to me near this same valley; do you proceed by it." Though they had sworn, yet I could not thoroughly trust them, so I made them go on in front, and I followed them.

The pretended guides were misleading him and meant to deliver him up to Tambal. As Mr. Lane Poole abbreviates the original: "They got him some bread, however, for starving was no part of their plan, and 'each with a loaf under his arm,' the three sat munching on a hillock, keeping watch on all sides and on each other. They saw people passing below, whom they knew, but Bábar dared not trust himself to them, though he trusted his two strange companions even less. It was now afternoon of the second day, and they went down to graze their famished horses in the marshy valley. Here they encountered the headman of the neighbouring village of Karmán, and Bábar knew him, and spoke him fair, and tried to secure his fidelity and help. At night they again descended from their rock, and the men gave Bábar an old cloak of lambskin, with the wool inside and coarse cloth without, for it was winter and bitterly cold. They brought him also a mess of boiled millet flour, which he found 'wonderfully comforting.' They were waiting (they said), to see the headman again; but 'those misbegotten treacherous clowns' had meanwhile sent a messenger to Tambal to betray Bábar's retreat."

To return to the Memoirs:—

"Entering a stone house and kindling a fire, I closed my eyes for a moment in sleep. These crafty fellows pretended a vast anxiety to serve me: 'We must not stir from this neighbourhood,' said they, 'till we have news of Kádír Bardi [the headman]. The room where we are, however, is in the midst of houses. There is a place on the outskirts where we could be quite unsuspected, could we but reach it.' So we mounted our horses about midnight and went to a garden on the outskirts of the suburbs. Bábar Sairámi watched on the terrace roof of the house, keeping a sharp look-out in every direction.

"It was near noon (on the third day of the flight) when he came down from the terrace and said to me, 'Here comes Yúsuf the constable.' I was seized with prodigious alarm, and said, 'Find out if he comes in consequence of knowing that I am here.' Bábar went out, and after some talk returned and said, 'Yúsuf the constable says that at the gate of Akhsi he met a foot-soldier who told him that the king was in Karmán at such a place; that, without telling the news to any one, he had put the man into close custody, and hastened to you at full speed; and that the Begs know nothing of the matter.' I asked him, 'What think you of this?' He replied, 'They are all your servants; there is nothing left for it but to join them. They will undoubtedly make you king again.' 'But after such wars and quarrels,' said I, 'how can I trust myself in their power?' I was still speaking, when Yúsuf suddenly presented himself, and falling on his knees before me exclaimed, 'Why should I conceal anything from you? Sultán Ahmad Beg knows nothing of the matter; but Shaikh Báyard Beg has got information where you are, and has sent me hither.'

"On hearing these words I was thrown into a dreadful state of alarm. There is nothing that moves a man more painfully than the near prospect of death. 'Tell me the truth,' I cried, 'if indeed things are about to go with me contrary to my wishes, that I may at least perform the last rites.' Yúsuf swore again and again, but I did not heed his oaths. I felt my strength gone

I rose and went to a corner of the garden. I meditated with myself, and said, Should a man live a hundred, nay, a thousand, years, yet at last he must inevitably make up his mind to die.

Whether thou live a hundred years or a single day, thou must

Infallibly quit this palace which delights the heart

I resigned myself, therefore, to die. There was a stream in the garden, and there I made my ablutions and recited a prayer of two bowings. Then, surrendering myself to meditation, I was about to ask God for his compassion, when sleep closed my eyes. I saw (in my dream) Khwāja Ya'kūb, son of Khwāja Yahyā and grandson of his eminence the Khwāja 'Obaid-Allah [a famous saint of Samarkand], with a numerous escort mounted on dappled grey horses, come before me and say, "Do not be anxious. The Khwāja has sent me to tell you that he will support you, and seat you on the throne of sovereignty; whenever a difficulty occurs to you, remember to beg his help and he will at once respond to your appeal, and victory and triumph shall straightway lean to your side." I awoke, with easy heart, at the very moment when Yūsuf the constable and his companions were plotting some trick to seize and throttle me. Hearing them discussing it, I said to them, "All you say is very well, but I shall be curious to see which of you dares approach me."

As I spoke, the tramp of a number of horses was heard outside the garden wall. Yūsuf the constable exclaimed, "If we had taken you and brought you to Tambal, our affairs would have prospered much thereby. As it is, he has sent a large troop to seize you; and the noise you hear is the tramp of horses on your track." At this assertion my face fell, and I knew not what to devise.

At that very moment the horsemen, who had not at first found the gate of the garden, made a breach in its crumbling wall, through which they entered. I saw they were Kutluk Muhammad, Barlās and Bābāi Pargāri, two of my most devoted followers, with ten to fifteen or twenty other persons. When they had come near to my person, they threw themselves off their horses, and, bending the knee at a respectful distance, fell at my feet and overwhelmed me with marks of their affection.

Amazed at this apparition, I felt that God had just restored me to life. I called to them at once, "Seize Yūsuf the constable and the wretched traitors who are with him, and bring them to me bound hand and foot." Then, turning to my rescuers, I said, "Whence come you? Who told you what was happening?" Kutluk Muhammad Barlās answered, "After I found myself separated from you in the sudden flight from Akhsi, I reached Andjān at the very moment when the Khāns themselves were making their entry. There I saw in a dream Khwāja 'Obaid-Allah, who said, 'Padishāh Bābar is at this instant in a village called Karīmān; fly thither and bring him back with you, for the throne is his of-right.' Rejoicing at this dream, I related it to the big Khān and the little Khān. . . . Three days have we been marching, and thanks be to God for bringing about this meeting. . . ."

We mounted without losing an instant, and made for Andjān. I had eaten nothing for two days. Towards noon we had the luck to find a sheep; we dismounted and settled ourselves comfortably to roast it. After satisfying my ravenous hunger, we set off again, and quickening our pace reached Andjān, doing a distance of five days in two nights and a day. There I embraced the two Khāns, my uncles, and related all that had passed since our separation."

Valda Hānem. By D. H. Pryce. Macmillan & Co., London.

VALDA Hānem may be described as a tragedy of a Turkish harem, and although the writer disclaims any attempt to depict actual scenes or to describe real personages or events, it is not difficult to see that she has derived her knowledge of Turkish life from observation on the spot.

* Here the Persian texts break off suddenly; the rest of the adventure is from the Turki original.

Whether the main incident, which forms the pivot on which the story turns, is true to life we are inclined to doubt. But, be that as it may, the book is interesting and pathetic. We do not know who most deserves pity—the beautiful young wife torn asunder between her duty and gratitude to her husband and her consuming passion for another man; the simple-hearted, affectionate and indulgent Pasha whose heart breaks when he learns the truth, or the high-minded, if somewhat weak, English governess who manages to get into a difficult position from which she is unable to extricate herself to the satisfaction of the injured husband. Captain Fitzroy, whose selfishness and lack of honourable feeling are the cause of all the mischief, is a more contemptible person than we imagine, the author intended him to be. Although sad almost throughout, the book is worth reading for the glimpses it affords us of the inner life of a Turkish household.

Young April. By Egerton Castle. Macmillan & Co., London.

THERE is a freshness about this story of a month in the life of a Duke which makes it, in spite of its improbabilities, very pleasant reading; and there is sufficient vitality in the characters to enlist the reader's keen interest and to forbid him to lay down the book till he has reached the last page. We make the acquaintance of the hero, who is travelling on the Continent with his tutor, when he is within a month of his majority and at the moment when the death of an uncle makes him Duke of Rochester. He is very young—not in years alone, but in behaviour and in knowledge of life; and although that which comes to him during the brief month of his escape from the vigilance of his tutor is of a very mixed description and leaves on his mind an impression perhaps more fraught with pain and disillusionment than pleasure, the events of which it is the outcome live in his memory as, at any rate, the most interesting of his life. The people whom he meets and with whom he is brought for a time into such intimate relations—the laughing, loving, singing Eva, so reckless and unconventional, but so good and true; the gallant soldier, the soul of honour, faithful in friendship as in love; and the high souled philosopher, “guileless, eloquent and paradoxical, absurd and great-hearted,” and so shamefully betrayed, are all drawn with so loving a touch that they become the friends, not only of the Duke, but of all who read the book. As for the *Countess de Lucena*, the priestess of Aphrodite, “always wrapt in mystery, with eyes unfathomable and smile sweet with unutterable promise,” always *Grande Dame*—always false, was she not “the goddess of his young

dreams, she who had kissed his lips that April night and revealed to him for one brief flash the paradise of love that he was never to reach again!?" But to the more discerning reader who has passed his April days, she stands revealed at her first entrance as a coquette of the very worst description.

Among many good scenes one appears to us to stand out as, although effective, unnatural and unnecessarily cruel. There seems to us a peculiar lack of delicacy and tact in the manner in which the fact of the frailty of the Countess is announced to her *fiancé*. It is inconceivable that a man of Count Neuberger's disposition should have dealt such a blow in the presence not only of another man but of a woman. It would be unfair alike to reader and to author to disclose the plot—if plot it can be called—or to quote at any length from Mr. Castle's charming tale, which must be read in its entirety to be enjoyed as it deserves.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CX.

April 1900.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

•THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

Messrs. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.

AND TO BE HAD OF ALL RESPECTABLE BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.

LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., Ltd.

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W. C.

All Rights Reserved

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXX.

CONTENTS.

| | Page. |
|---|-------|
| ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY | 193 |
| „ II.—RURAL BEHAR | 218 |
| „ III.—A LITTLE-KNOWN MADRAS DISTRICT ... | 233 |
| „ IV.—JOHN COMPANY'S PADRES AND THEIR PARISH | 239 |
| „ V.—HINDU SOCIETY IN THE RATIONALISTIC AGE | 259 |
| „ VI.—THE LAND LAWS OF BENGAL | 273 |
| „ VII.—THE ANTI-RUSSIAN CONSPIRACY IN TURKES- | |
| TAN | 304 |
| „ VIII.—THE TAO-TEH-KING OF LAO TZE ... | 316 |
| „ IX.—WHEN TIRUMALA THE GREAT RULED ... | 325 |
| „ X.—SCRIBES AND PHARISEES | 331 |
| „ XI.—POLITICAL HISTORY OF MUSCAT | 337 |
| „ XII.—THE ASTRONOMY OF THE HINDUS ... | 344 |
| „ XIII.—THE CASE OF THE MUNDAS | 357 |
| „ XIV.—THE CHERUMARS OF MALABAR | 365 |
| THE QUARTER | 371 |
| CORRESPONDENCE | 380 |

CRITICAL NOTICES:—

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE:—

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| 1.—Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India. By James Douglas, J. P., Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London | ... | ... | xi |
| 2.—Donna Teresa. By Francis Mary Peard. Macmillan & Co., London | ... | ... | xiv |
| 3.—The Upanishads: Chhândogya, Part Second. Fourth Volume. Translated by Gāṅgā'nāth Jha, Mr. A., F. T. S. Published by V. C. Seshachari, B.A., B.L., M. R. A. S. Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, 1899 | ... | ... | ib. |
| Acknowledgments | ... | ... | xxi |

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 220—APRIL 1900.

ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

*Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during
the latter half of the 18th Century.*

(Continued from No. 210—January 1900.)

CHAPTER XIV.

QUENCHING OF ANARCHY.

THE reign of chaos had fostered the operations of the foreign adventurers of whom W. L. Gardner was the last and the most useful. Some attempt to introduce order followed the wars of the beginning of the nineteenth century, with a somewhat uncertain and not very successful attitude of the British authorities, which came to be known as "non-intervention," and caused considerable mischief. The power of the East India Company—occasionally inspired and controlled by the King's Government—had battered some of the native powers into helpless syncope, which left them an easy prey to their enemies and plunderers. By a conventional fiction the Moghul of Delhi was considered sovereign over the whole peninsula; but a number of local rulers—legitimate or usurping—held the practical sway in the various Provinces. Some were descendants of ancient Hindu dynasties, like Travancore and Mysore in the South, and the Rajput chiefs in Mewar and Marwar: others—of whom the most prominent were the Toorkman House of Haidarabad and the Persian dynasty in Oudh—were representatives of Moslem officials who, in the decay of the Empire, had succeeded in erecting independent thrones: while a third group consisted of more recent aggregates made into States by Maratha leaders, such as the Peshwa at Poona, Sindhia and Holkar, and the Bhonsla of Berar.

But this unconnected mass of principalities was by no means an end of anarchy. The Nawabs and Rajas were, for the most part, Lords of Misrule, indifferent to the interests of their subjects, and mainly engaged in mutual hostility and rapine.

So far as any constitutional theory remained, all were vassals or ministers of the Court at Delhi—even the British held most of their possessions under Imperial Patent—, but in practice all exercised a kind of despotism, only animated by disorder or war.

Such was the confused and anomalous condition of India in 1813. In England the authority that was needed to foster and protect British interests in the East was not in a much more efficient or regular position. After the defeat of the premature attempt at reformation introduced in 1783, by Burke and Fox, a modified application of parliamentary control had been brought about, which led to the complete subordination of political power formerly held by the Company, while the symbols of administration and the direction of a commercial monopoly remained untouched. Originated by Dundas in consultation with Lord Cornwallis, this policy was definitely laid down by the Declaratory Act of 1788, and confirmed by the renewed Charter of 1793. The views of Cornwallis were those of a high-minded statesman; he looked on the consultative voice left to the Directors of the Company as a useful reality which quite justified the assumption that they were still the rulers of Indian affairs; not only did it seem that the policy to be pursued, but also that the choice of those by whom that policy was to be carried out, was in ordinary times based upon the views of the Directors: while the monopoly of trade was necessary to hinder the incursion of lawless adventurers.

By the time when these matters came up for fresh discussion, at the expiry of the Company's twenty years' lease, events had occurred which showed that some of the old machinery had been ill-devised, while other parts had fallen into obsolescence. Questions of importance had arisen in many directions, some due to increasing strength on one side, some to growing weakness on the other. Below all others, and a necessary element in their solution, was that regarding the nature of British Authority in the Orient. With China, indeed, there need be—for the present—no difficulty. The Company sent their clippers and armed vessels to Canton, where they exchanged British produce for Chinese without risk or friction. The people of Canton were not pleasant to deal with; but they knew what they wanted and had a certain system, once it was understood: and their Government, however backward, was not weak. But with Bengal transactions had not always allowed the same simplicity of action; while the surrounding Governments were ill-organised and faithless to an unusual degree. To carry on trade with such people demanded—for various reasons—the display of power; and the outgoing Governor, Lord Minto, had found it necessary to despatch an

ambassador to more than one of his neighbours and to assume, in so doing, the full attributes of sovereignty. In the case of Persia this position was hotly contested by the London Foreign-office ; and at one moment there were two rival British envoys at Teheran. Minto defended himself stoutly ; asserting that the Company's Government was vested with sovereignty within its own boundaries, and that its claims had been admitted by the Shah. "This acknowledged character," so he argued, "as it constituted the basis, so it must form the cement, of our external relations." What sort of fabric it could be which admitted of the same substance for mortar and foundation, was not distinctly shown, but the assertion was of a kind that could hardly fail to be taken up by the Ministry in London, and probably contributed to the fall of the bold Viceroy. The question of sovereignty was seen to involve two others ;—If the Company were a Sovereign, ought Sovereigns to trade ? If the Company were a trader, ought it to be invested with sovereign power ?

The commercial element was felt to be fundamental. The Company had been established for trade purposes ; and in the course of years had acquired political power for the maintenance of commerce. In 1813 the British Islands produced most of their own food ; but a great and growing demand for oriental luxuries had sprung up, while the rapidly developing manufacturing interest was dependent on eastern sources for much of its brute matter. Long ago had Adam Smith observed upon the singularity of the attempt "to found a great Empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers ;" but since his time the attempt had come into the sphere of practical politics ; the British nation had dimly perceived the advantage of a permanent connection with an enormous population which should take British fabrics and pay for them in raw material. In the beginning, indeed, it had not been so simple ; and the imports from India had consisted largely of muslins and longcloths : but, by the time of which we are now thinking, a vast production of cheap piece-goods had begun in England ; so that the value of Indian textiles imported into the country had fallen from three millions sterling to a few thousand pounds, while the trade was so disorganised that the Company had to call home the cash-balances held in reserve in India. When the question of renewing the Charter came to be dealt with, grave doubts began to be expressed as to the use of the Company's commercial monopoly ; and many seemed to think that, if that monopoly were ended, the semblance of sovereignty might end also. The President of the Board of Control was of opinion that the objects of the Company's privilege had ceased to exist, save, perhaps, for

the purpose of bringing tea from China and carrying thither in exchange the broadcloths of Yorkshire and the opium of Bengal. In China, indeed, the Company was solely engaged by these commercial occupations, having no territorial possessions, and being freed, by the comparative strength and unity of the native Government, from all political complications. But in the case of India, political relations were essential to trade, and the two questions were closely intertwined; so that the struggle which began in April, 1812, was a somewhat perplexed affair, alike in Parliament and in the country. The bias of public opinion was in favour of the maintenance of the Company as a governing body invested with patronage; a power which no one seemed disposed to entrust to a partizan Cabinet. On the side of trade, much discontent doubtless existed at "the outports," as the provincial seats of maritime commerce were called; but the influence of Bristol and Liverpool was not much greater, at that period, than the influence of Bodmin or Grampound; and the power of the Company was energetically put forth to controvert their pleadings.

While Parliament was dealing with the claims of the East India Company in England, an elderly military man was carelessly sent to India to mould the destiny of countless millions in that remote region, and establish the power of the Crown. Moira's early life—as already noticed in connection with Gardner—had given little indication of future greatness or preparation for the higher duties of statesmanship. As Col. Rawdon, he had been employed as Adjutant-General of the Army engaged in the vain attempt to subdue the Americans and their French allies. On his return to Europe he was created Baron Rawdon in the Irish peerage, and afterwards succeeded his father as second Earl of Moira. In 1795 he once more assisted at a British defeat, having been sent with a small detachment in aid of Sombreuil's attempt at Quiberon, on the shore of Brittany, which was so easily repulsed by the Republican army under Hoche.* For the next few years Moira led the life of a Member of the House of Commons and man-of-fashion, professing the politics of Fox, and associated intimately with the Prince of Wales. In 1806 he was rewarded by the post of Master-General of the Ordnance; and, on the Prince becoming Regent, was enabled to take a small part in political affairs. In May, 1812, the Prime Minister was shot in the Lobby of the House; and the Prince entered upon negotiations with some of the Whig leaders, with the object of strengthening the Cabinet by the admission of Liberal statesmen favoured by the Commons. Into the details of these

* This was the occasion on which W. L. Gardner first served under the future Governor-General.

transactions it is not necessary to enter here; suffice it to note that Moira, as a Whig and old acquaintance, was employed to endeavour the conciliation of the Marquess Wellesley. A tangled controversy followed; Moira's political efforts were finally defeated, mainly by the insincerity of the Prince, who formed a Ministry of somewhat obsolete character and threw Moira overboard. There being no vacant post in which the negotiating Earl could be decently interred, the Court of Directors was ordered to recall Minto, and appoint Moira Governor-General of India in his place.

The modern Viceroy has a post of honour and of labour, and the salary—the nominal amount of which has not been increased for over one hundred years—is no longer the temptation that it once was. But he leads a pleasant life; having a charming summer residence in a lovely mountain-retreat, with the full prestige of representing the British Crown; and provided with a splendid personal staff, and with a luxurious railway-carriage ready to convey him to his Calcutta palace in the winter or to waft him about among peaceful landscapes and old historic cities. He is always in the prime of life, assisted by councillors who act as his Ministers in different departments and relieve him of all responsibility in administrative details. In the charge of the army he is aided by the experienced officer who commands the Indian forces. Far different was the case of Moira; a man verging on his twelfth lustre; charged with the double duty of Civil ruler and Commander-in-Chief; encumbered by the aid of civilian experts in Council; men of strong opinions and characters. His headquarters in Calcutta were hot and unwholesome; if he wished to see into things for himself, he was confined to the alternative of following the course of the Ganges in a house-boat, or wandering over a roadless wilderness with tents and baggage, and a crowd of followers who devastated the land. His position was further embarrassed by a total uncertainty as to the fate of the Company whose servant he, ostensibly, was; and the support of the feeble Cabinet was not to be assumed by a man opposed to them in politics and recently engaged in efforts to keep them out of office.

Thus handicapped, Moira undertook the perilous adventure: unversed in the practice of governing, but possessed of a resolute and intelligent mind. Like any wise man approaching such a task, he must have known that great difficulties awaited him; and, indeed, his private journal is enough to show that he was not only aware of those difficulties, but was earnestly preparing to deal with them.* The southern

* *Private Journals* of the Marquess of Hastings, 2 vols., 1858.

part of India was in no very unsettled condition, save in so far as it included a portion of the territories subject to the Maratha Peshwa. In the Telugu and Tamil districts Munro was introducing prosperity and order: financial scandal was brewing in the Deccan, but its full fermentation was yet to come. Nearer the Narbada river, however, the marauding bands of the Pindaris were extending the limits of desolation under protection and abetment of the contiguous Maratha States; while Upper India was divided between robber-barons and disbanded soldiers, the dregs of former war. The average Indian citizen, whose craving was—as it always is—for peace and protection, groaned audibly; and a man accustomed to ideas of duty and discipline could not be deaf to such complaints. In the first volume of his journals he relates how, at his tour in 1814, a respectable agriculturist of Oude asked a British officer—"When are you going to take this wretched country?"

But peace, as is usual, was to be purchased; and the price was—War: and that war might have to be supported by the energies and authority of the mother-country. Without indulging himself with the contemptuous language of Lord Wellesley towards "the cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street," Moira's sincerity of vision showed him that the ultimately responsible power was that of the Crown and Parliament of England: and he observed, within six months of his accession, that his object ought to be to render the British Government paramount, in effect if not declaredly." (*Journal*, Vol. I, 1814.)

In the days of the Regency there was a Frontier trouble not very dissimilar to that of recent times, though in a different direction. The peninsula of India has been called the Italy of Asia; and, if Cabul and the Vaziri hills can be regarded as its Piedmont, the Grisons may be taken as represented by Nipal. Here, on the boundary of the great Chinese Empire and under its remote vassalage, was a mountain land occupied by hardy races of which the most famous and predominant was the *Gurkha*, a mixed breed of Mongolian and Hindu who had absorbed the adjacent hills and were encroaching on the plains below. What with the Gurkha incursions and the lawlessness in Central India, the Governor-General foresaw "the elements of a war more general than any that we have hitherto encountered." (*Journal* I, 47.) But he did not shrink from the danger. After vain attempts at negotiations, thwarted by the ignorant audacity of the mountaineers, he addressed an ultimatum to the Gurkha Durbar; and, on meeting a prompt and insolent defiance, sent four divisions of troops to operate on so many portions of the frontier—some seven hundred miles in length. Into the at first disastrous

details of this war we need not here enter; one General was shot in trying to storm a fort with cavalry; another lost his head so completely as to mount his horse by night and desert his command. We have already seen how, with valuable help from Major Gardner, the Nepalese line of defence was cut in two. The final campaign was entrusted to the more competent hands of Ochterlony, who routed the brave enemy successively at both extremities of the line; and the Durbar, after a futile call for help from the Chinese, finally capitulated and entered into an alliance with the British Government, which has subsisted ever since.

But the chief immediate result was to show Moira that it was necessary for him to assume his place as Commander-in-Chief the next time he went to war. In the Indian armies he could find no General of the necessary ability excepting Ochterlony, who was wanted for the delicate duties of his permanent appointment as Resident at the Court of Delhi. When, therefore, in 1816 the condition of Central India became intolerable, Moira deemed it his duty to take the field in person. Not that he could divest himself in the least degree of his administrative work. Seldom has a Proconsul been in a more trying situation. Of the Council bequeathed to him by Minto, the strongest members were opposed to his policy; which was, moreover, discountenanced, and even prohibited, by the authorities at home: and at the same time the pressure of internal trouble was going on side by side with the anxieties of the military operations. In 1815 disturbances occurring in Cutch and Katiawar—outlying provinces of Gujarat—were suppressed, without loss of life, by Colonel East. In the following year a riot, which nearly assumed the importance of actual rebellion, broke out at Bareilly, in the neighbourhood of the small Rohilla State of Rampore: serious opposition to a new house-tax being made use of as a pretext by Moslem disloyalty. Supported by the presence of Afghan adventurers at Rampore, and by the collusive absence of the Nawab of that little Principality, the Muhamadans of Bareilly committed great excesses; murdering an inoffensive young Englishman and twice resisting the police; nor did the tumult subside until a number, estimated at 1,500, had been killed or wounded. A still more serious affair occurred on the other side of the Ganges, where the Robber-barons who had been mostly reduced to order by Lake, were still represented by the powerful Talukdars of Mursan and Hathras. These two tracts, which to-day are crossed by railways and noted only for their fertile soil and their industrious population, were then controlled by lawless landlords, of Jat families—the chief being Daya Ram—whose head-quarters were at Hathras town. Here, in the

weakness of a new administration, he had been allowed to erect a castle fortified in imitation of the adjacent British Fort of Aligarh. In 1817, after long defiance, the Government determined to dismantle Daya Ram's stronghold, and enforced the order by a Division of the Bengal Army under Major-General Dyson Marshall. Six Cavalry regiments, two battalions of British Infantry, seven of sepoy, with 71 mortars and howitzers and 34 siege-guns, formed part of an expedition on a scale which showed that Moira meant no trifling. The town was speedily breached and stormed; but the contumacious Jat still held his citadel. It was accordingly bombarded continuously for fifteen hours, in the course of which the powder-magazine was exploded with terrible loss of life. The rebel chief with a few followers, all in full armour, issued from a sally-port and cut his way through the Bengal cavalry: a gallant feat which was ultimately followed by his capture and pardon. The country immediately submitted. An insurrection, yet more grave than that of Bareilly, next ensued in Orissa; where general distress had been produced by fiscal errors and had found leaders in a body of public servants hurriedly disestablished. In 1817 the "Paiks," as these superfluous employees were called, broke out under the instigation of an official of a local Raj, who had been also affected by reduction of expense: two detachments of troops sent against them were repulsed, and a European officer was killed; the sacred town of Jagannath was occupied by the insurgents; and the commanding officer retired with his men. The whole district of Puri now rose in arms; but the Raja held aloof, and the movement collapsed after one action, in which the rebels were routed by Colonel LeFèvre with one sepoy battalion. The Government acted, with commendable promptitude, in relief of the grievances thus indicated. A special commission being appointed to hold a local enquiry, what was found wrong was righted, and the district has ever since been orderly and peaceful, in spite of its being the scene of pilgrimages in the course of which it is often thronged by hundreds of thousands of fanatical Hindus in their most fanatical condition.

So far, therefore, the Governor-General had prospered in all his undertakings. But a weighty charge was still upon him if peace and order were to be permanently provided for the people of India. At the beginning of Moira's rule the British Government was not directly answerable for more than Bengal, the North-West Provinces, the Carnatic, and a narrow strip of the western coast, with the Heptanesia of Bombay: to which were now added the acquisitions arising out of the treaty with Nepal, little more than the sub-Himalaya country from Naini Tal to Simla. With these exceptions, India was under

native sway, including Oudh, the Punjab, Rajputana, the Deccan, and Mysore—each equal to a first class European kingdom in area and resources. But this disproportion was to be construed by the light of Lord Moira's peculiar view. We have seen what this was : after his first discussion with a council imbued with the "non-intervention" policy of an earlier period, Moira had recorded that he meant to make the British power "paramount in effect, if not declaredly so;" while he saw the concurrent danger—so often pointed out by Munro—of degrading the Princes and their subjects, implied by domineering interference. He deplored the "captious bickerings" which were constantly coming to his notice; and considered that "a rational jealousy of our power was not likely to excite half the intrigues against us which must naturally be produced by the wanton provocations which we have been giving on trivial subjects to all the States around." Seeds of hostility had thus been sown, which would germinate on favourable opportunity. No sooner would the British power be seriously involved than all who had a grudge to wreak would endeavour to combine in active aggression. In short, the task undertaken by Lord Moira was to make every Raja and Nawab govern with humanity and efficiency under the general supervision and control of the civilised power, which did not wish to coerce any of them, and yet acknowledged the responsibility of strength and wisdom. And if that task should lead to resistance, he was prepared to meet resistance and to put it down.

That the spirit of some of the native Durbars was bad, Moira was certified by his Agents, R. Jenkins, at the Court of the Bhonsla, and Mountstuart Elphinstone at Poona; for these were intrepid men, never likely to give undue alarms. For active operations he was doubly unprepared; the finances were drained by recent remittances to London; and action was positively prohibited by the India-House and by the Regent's Government: the policy of the Ministry, in fact, was conveyed through the channel of the "Secret Committee" of the East India Company; and the Governor-General—so long as his Council refused support—was not in a position to fly in the face of authority.

Luckily, the audacity of the Pindaris at length produced the acquiescence of the Bengal Council: and Moira, ably backed by Mr. C. (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, resolved on attacking the marauders, even though the doing so brought on him the resistance of the Maratha Chiefs and the censure of the Board of Control. In neglecting the cautions and even positive prohibitions from London, Moira was probably guided by his knowledge of the character of the men with whom he had to deal. It was in vain that men of the school of Perceval and

Liverpool denied that there was any serious movement going on in Central India ; when the Pindaris themselves were even ready to supply an *Eppur si muove*. In Minto's time they had already ventured on transgressing the boundaries of British India and carrying fire and sword into the District of Mirzapore ; and since that time had been harassing the borders and making raids into the Deccan : long continued impunity being the source of increasing boldness. In 1814 the disbanded soldiers and indigenous brigands had amalgamated with a solidarity independent of caste or creed ; one company calling itself after Sindhia, and the other invoking the name of Holkar with a few guns and a small force of infantry, but mainly consisting of predatory horsemen armed with lances and carrying on their saddlebows all that they required excepting the bare flour and water which they could reckon upon finding in the villages that they harried, or the quarters of the Rajas by whom they were harboured. They were favoured, and to some extent supported, by Amir Khan, a retired partizan leader who had once given sore trouble to Lake ; their immediate leaders being two degenerated Moslems and a Jat named Chitu, the ablest of the whole, who had been assigned five Districts in what are now known as the "Central Provinces." Up to 1814, however, the Home Government was busy with the Peninsular war ; and the fact that the marauders were notoriously abetted by many powerful Native States increased rather than otherwise the reluctance felt by mediocre men to acknowledge responsibility for action. To restore order in Central India so it was argued, would be to incur Sindhia's hostility and finally involve oneself in a general war with the entire Maratha confederacy. Inspired by Metcalfe, the Governor-General held that this was not a certain consequence, and that, even if it were certain, it ought to be encountered : the honour and even the safety of the Government being at stake. The Council differed, and the case was sent home for fresh consideration ; but the mail had hardly left Calcutta when the growing audacity of the Pindaris precipitated the solution. Suddenly darting into the Northern Sirkars, they held a ten days' orgie of rapine and ruin, in which nearly two hundred British subjects were killed, and many thousands tortured and robbed ; while respectable married women escaped dishonour only by leaping into wells. According to official reports the total loss of property was equivalent to a million sterling and the number of the marauders was estimated at 23,000. Almost at the same time arrived fresh instructions from London prohibiting offensive operations ; but the Council was at last learning to realise that the time for action had arrived and that the orders had been issued upon a state of things

that had ceased to exist. A change, too, occurred at Home, where the Earl of Buckinghamshire died and was succeeded at the Board of Control by George Canning; while the general peace which prevailed after the removal from the scene of the Emperor Napoleon set free the moral and other energies of the British nation.

In December, 1816, as we learn from an entry of the 23rd in the *Private Journal*, the last hesitation had been overcome; and the Council was "ready to record an unanimous opinion that the extirpation of the Pindarries (*sic*) must be undertaken notwithstanding the orders of the Court of Directors." The Governor-General could, indeed, do nothing—he adds—so long as the Councillors, appealing to orders from Home, could clog his action with adverse minutes; but now he felt free to act according to his own views. Fortunately a change of spirit at Home followed on Canning's accession to office; and, even before the change had occurred in the views of the Calcutta Council, new instructions had been already dictated to the Secret Committee, in which Moira was informed that his proposed measures would now be approved, even if they should extend beyond repelling invasion to the work of "pursuing and chastising the invaders." And if Sindhia or any other chief should take part with the Pindaris, such chief should be treated as an enemy.

By the time that this despatch could arrive in India the Government there had become committed to somewhat stronger action. Amir Khan was intimidated into total quiescence—he was growing old and rich—; Sindhia's isolation was ensured by a firm ultimatum, backed by a cordon of British troops, and vigorous measures were adopted towards the Bhonsla and the Peshwa. Large bodies of men, under the best generals available, began to converge on Central India; and on 5th July, 1817, the Governor-General left Calcutta to assume the general direction of military and political operations in that region.

These were completely successful. The Bhonsla broke into open hostility, only to be deposed; the Peshwa attacked the Presidency at Poona, where he was defeated and put to flight: the Pindaris were dispersed or hunted down, Chitu being devoured by a tiger while lurking in his native jungle. The Native dynasty was restored in the Bhonsla dominions, in the person of a minor in whose name Mr. Jenkins ruled the administration. At Poona the *gudda* of the faithless Peshwa was declared vacant and his post abolished; but the smaller Maratha states were preserved and made more efficient. The old principalities of Rajputana, freed at last from plunder and anarchy, resumed their autonomy. In the well-chosen words of a profound and original thinker,

"Henceforward it became the universal principle of public policy that every State in India should make over the control of its foreign relations to the British Government, should submit all external disputes to British arbitration, and should defer to British advice regarding internal management, so far as might be necessary to cure disorder or serious misrule. This political settlement established universal recognition of the cardinal principle upon which the fabric of British dominion in India has been built up." (Sir A. Lyall; *Rise of British Dominion in India*. Ch. XVI.)

The Governor-General, after this vast group of successes due to his own courage and skill, received the barren honour of a step in the peerage, and retired (after an unhappy scandal at Haiderabad) to die, as Marquess of Hastings, in poverty and exile. But what alone concerns us here is to note the great outline of his policy and the mischief that ensued upon its abandonment by his successors. The ideal of Lord Hastings had been oriental administration under English control, the utmost independence compatible with the demands of common humanity. In later days another policy prevailed; no opportunity was to be lost for introducing direct European action (Dalhousie): in ruling Asiatics we were to be guided, not by their conscience, but by our own (John Lawrence); principles of which the first led to such political trouble as befel in 1857, while the second is open to the objection that it might have justified the shooting of Irish landlords.

The two subjects of sanitation and education may be regarded as instances of difficulty due to the forcible introduction of the ideas of one state of society into the affairs of another. The hygienic system of the British nation has by no means eliminated all classes of epidemic disease, but it may claim to have prolonged life and increased the numbers of the census. But in India conditions are totally diverse: you have a non-emigrating population already pressing dangerously on the means of subsistence in good seasons, and in times of scarcity afflicted with hopeless suffering; you have not either the money or the men to enforce efficient sanitary practice on the villages, or even on your own cantonments: and the imperfect measures of sanitation that can alone be effected often do more harm than good. An excellent and most loyal Indian newspaper not long ago published figures proving that in a number of conspicuous municipalities the death-rate had risen from 20 to 32 since the attempts to sanitize had been completed. As for "education"—so-called—it is to be observed that primary instruction is provided by the law, but is optional; that secondary instruction is in a most incomplete state; and that the results of the Colleges and

Universities are to be found in the existence of a large and growing body of discontented "Baboos" who eke out an income by maintaining litigation or levying blackmail by means of a licentious and unnecessary journalism.*

Now, here are matters on which the British rulers of India have long prided themselves; and which can be brought to the test of fact. Judged by that irrefragable evidence, what do we find? An increase in the normal death-rate, an uncontrollable prevalence of the most deadly epidemics, occasional devastations of famine, sanguinary wars on the frontier, abiding discontent within the borders of the Empire, and a revenue that barely meets the daily needs and leaves no balance for sinking-fund or insurance, so that the national debt increases year by year, while the credit of the Government slowly declines.

We must always admit that Dalhousie and Lawrence were good and able men; yet we may have to conclude that the gifts of civilisation conferred on India by them were not unadulterated. Population has increased, but so has care; "Thou hast multiplied the nation, but not increased the joy." Commerce has developed, but the wage of inland labour does not rise. The country in the last few years has suffered all the calamities from which we pray to be delivered. The fact is that India still endures the standards of the early Victorian age; which were those of persons for whom sewage and the three R's possessed a sort of millennial sanctity. To a House of Commons elected by the middle-classes these things appeared "a mission;" and the easy-going ways of the Regency were, no doubt, somewhat shocking; but it is not quite certain that they have introduced any great improvement into the condition of India. Lord Hastings, one must admit, extended direct British administration to a very considerable region; to some of what are now known as the Central Provinces, and to the greater part of the present Bombay Presidency, as apart from Sindh. He could not well do otherwise; the imbecility and faithlessness of the Maratha chiefs probably left him but little choice. Nevertheless, it will be observed that his annexations originated altogether in the Pindari war, which he undertook both against advice in India and against orders from London, and at the risk of his life and reputation. He felt indignant at the supineness which would have left the British boundaries exposed to trespass by murderous marauders; and he sacrificed his own ease and comfort, at an advanced age, that he might do what he conceived his duty. But he attempted no more: in spite of

* This is not meant to apply to the many Indian papers of good repute.

provocation, he spared Sindhia and the Gaikwar: he even tried to spare the faithless Appa Sahib, and maintained the Bhonsla dynasty at Nagpore. The ancient dynasty of Satara was restored: the feeble Rajput States were respected and strengthened; and nothing was done that had the least appearance of introducing English administration on doctrinary grounds: Nagpore itself being only undertaken temporarily and in the interest of the Bhonsla House. With the Gurkhas of Nepal was concluded an enduring peace, taking, however, no territory but what had previously belonged to Bengal, in addition to a small and barren stretch of mountain in which the Nepalese themselves were intruders; and where, so far as they could be found, the original owners were also restored: the Rajas of Tehri and the like.

Far different is the India to which we are introduced by Sir Richard Temple. But even here a third of the vast area is still administered by native rulers, with a population equal to that of modern Germany added to that of France. In some of these provinces the administration is aided or controlled by British advisers, as is the case with Egypt; in all the maintenance of certain general principles of humanity and justice is provided by the care of the paramount Power; grave derelictions being punished by deposition and the substitution of a better ruler. Peace and order are ensured, and the States are protected from outward attack and debarred from war with one another.

It might be difficult to devise criteria by which the relative success of the two methods could be tested. In the two-thirds of India which are directly governed, the rules of civilised polity are as rigorously enforced as in any country in the world, save only as regards civil law, which in most respects follows the religious codes of Hinduism or of Islam, as the case may be. A disputed succession in a Moslem family, a question of partition among Rajput brethren, will be decided, by British Courts, according to the respective systems accepted by the parties: in the rare cases of litigation between a Hindu on one side and a Musalman on the other the code of the defendant will be applied. But in all cases of agrarian controversy, as in all criminal charges, enactments of the British Government must decide; and in the absence of a Law of Torts these cases are necessarily the major part of litigation. In regard to the collection of revenue, as in regard to the execution of decrees, an inflexible punctuality prevails, and is enforced—where such is required—by the exercise of sovereign power and the sanction of imperial arms. In the so-called "Native States" all is different. A capricious exercise of authority, sometimes mild, often uncertain, is substituted for the systematic and mechanical rigour of European

civilisation; a small *douceur* to a policeman may save a possible fine to the magistrate; and the lawless oppression of the great occasionally vexes the weaker classes, as was the case in England when the *Paston Letters* were written. All this used to appear—often yet appears—barbarous and even shocking; but it co-exists with a sort of gypsy freedom, and absence of misunderstood regularity, which tempers it, and perhaps endears, to the oriental mind. The superior population-rate of British India may be cited as a mark of superior administration; on the other hand, the low rate in Native States is at least a cause of less competition. The chiefs and rulers may be less conscientious than British officials selected by the Civil Service Commission; but at least they possess the sympathies born of local feeling and local knowledge. And the career open to ambition, which gives to public life the excitement of a lottery, may seem barbarous to us and yet have its attractions for the people.

It is not pretended that any of these considerations, or even all of them together, should be accepted as a basis for exalting oriental ways above those of the West; which would be the merest pedantry of paradox. But what is suggested is that methods and institutions based on Oriental tradition and custom will, if duly handled, prove more useful to an eastern people than those arising out of an evolution to which such people are strangers. This *à priori* doctrine is, in fact, allowed in the sphere of law; we do not try suits according to the *Koran* or the *Shaster* because we approve of those codes, but because they are more native to the men before us than Shelley's case or the Pandects. This was not always seen; a learned Judge in Calcutta laid down, not so very long ago, that, when the British first acquired Bengal, there was a kind of legal vacuum, into which Grimgribber—to use Bentham's word—rushed as by force of Nature: for which, however, his Lordship had to go back for a precedent to the days of Hyde and Impey. It is related of those luminaries that, on landing (in 1774), they were scandalised by the bare legs of the men who carried their palankeens from the ghât: "Ah! brother," cried one to the other, "the Supreme Court will have failed if ere long each of these honest fellows has not a pair of stockings to wear." That *obiter dictum* of the first Judges was but a forecast of the view of their successor above cited.

But the oriental methods must be duly handled: that proviso has been already made, to anticipate the scorn with which the friends of civilisation would naturally encounter a proposition not so guarded. The King, or Cadi, of Orientalism, sitting in the gate of his palace and deciding differences by the light of his own wit and conscience, has been suppressed in

India, and his place taken by a trained Judge administering scientific codes of Law. And why cannot the like be done in other departments? It is obviously right that the general requirements of humanity and good order should be met in any place where flags of Christian nations fly: but it is not so clear that such provision can never be made without the presence of large staffs of European functionaries, with the concomitant salaries, furlough allowances, and retiring pensions of the Indian Civil Service. If the uninformed philanthropy of the British voter insists on having in every village a Board School and a sanitary officer, the British Parliament will have to find the ways and means for such luxuries, in the long run. The Indian revenues cannot provide them; nor is it possible to run an Occidental administration upon an Oriental budget.

Nothing can be more unfair than the assertion of some of our would-be Reformers to the effect that the people of India are suffering under a crushing weight of taxes. That is, indeed, the exact reverse of what is happening; and it is the difficulty of taxing such a population that forms the preliminary—and insurmountable—objection to forcing upon them an exotic civilisation, if that were otherwise shown to be right and proper. A revenue that is collected in copper* is called upon to maintain up-to-date institutions of war and peace; and the inevitable result is tending to make of British rule in India a permanent catastrophe.

CHAPTER XV.

Conclusion.

Both sides of the shield have now been impartially considered: we have seen what are the drawbacks of civilisation, and what the cautions with which it ought to be introduced into countries long inured to Anarchy. The facts adduced in the above chapters convey lessons to the British nation as well as to the peoples of India. To the latter they would be useful as a reminder of the benefits that they have received from the assumption of Indian administration by a Western race. There is, no doubt, a certain element of hardness involved in the idea of conquest; and there have not been wanting among us, from the days of Edmund Burke to now, good men whose sympathies are excited when they think of vast and storied regions, whose inhabitants are deprived of

* On the assumption that the whole of the taxation is paid by the inhabitants of British India, the payment per head—inclusive of provincial rates—falls at Rs. 1-4 (say 1s. 8d.) P.A. But in fact few of these taxes are obligatory, and the incidence on the ordinary Indian is only about 7½%.

independence and exposed to a sort of compulsory education. But well-informed Hindus could answer them if they reflected on the condition in which their forefathers existed only a few generations ago, and on the prospects awaiting their descendants if the British were to leave the country.

So far as we like to look back, we discern no signs of autonomy in India, only vicissitudes of more or less selfish despotism, often exercised by foreigners in one part or another. The Anarchy that ensued after the taking of Delhi by the Persians, in 1738, might bear the name of Home Rule if it had been "Rule" at all; if it had not made life a burden to the many and a deadly snare to the few. Moreover, long prior to that the country was under alien domination; and even the great Akbar favoured his own race, the Moghuls—and professed to take one-third of the gross produce of the land from the people; seeing that one-tenth has been almost universally recognised as the ideal ratio, we can see how oppressive was this famous revenue-system, with all its efficiency and benevolent intentions. The successors of Akbar had Indian blood, yet under them the decay and decomposition of the Empire never stopped. In 1738 Nadir and his Persians almost bled the country to death under the feeble Mohamed Shah. At the death of that Emperor began the anarchy; "after his demise," writes a native historian, "everything went to wreck." The country soon became a scene that could hardly bear comparison with France after the Hundred Years' War. A native authority cited in Dow's *History of Hindostan* (published 1770) speaks of "every kind of social confusion. Villainy was practised in all its forms; law and religion were trodden under foot; the bonds of private friendship and connection, as well as Society and Government were broken; and every individual—as if in a forest of wild beasts—could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm." A Persian traveller, Mohamed Mazin, had the fortune to go through the siege of Ispahan and the Afghan conquest of his country before coming to settle in India; and he thought his own country, under all sufferings, a better place of abode than Hindustan. "No man," he writes, "will ever stay in India of his own choice . . . unless he be one who unexpectedly arrives at wealth and distinction, and from lack of moral strength . . . becomes tranquil there and habituates himself to the life."

Is it necessary to multiply citations? We have seen what was the condition of the people under such circumstances, in regions ruled by strong and fairly just persons, such as the Begum and General Pervez. And that the chief elements were oppression and misadministration of all sorts. Nor does this describe the war-

worn regions of the North. Reading of the twenty years following on the rise of Haider in Mysore, we learn that the Mahrattas, occupied with constant forays, were inattentive to the misery of the people, whom their Governors "oppressed in the most cruel manner . . . neither the property nor the life of a subject can be called his own." Fuller details are to be found in the last chapter of "The Fall of the Moghul Empire," a book by the present writer, chiefly taken from documents of the time. This evidence, it is true, relates chiefly to rural districts—but the life of the people was (and even yet continues to be) chiefly rural. The state of the towns may be imagined from the account of one of the great Moghul Capitals given by a traveller who visited Lahore so late as 1809:—

"24th May. I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings and mosques which, fifty years ago, raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and, in less than half a century more, will be levelled to the ground. In going over these ruins I saw not a human being—all was silence, solitude, and gloom."

In 1641 an earlier traveller had written, of the same city that, "large as it appeared, there were not houses enough for the people, who were encamped for half a league outside. It is handsome and well-ordered . . . I entered the City; a very difficult undertaking on account of the number of people who filled the streets . . . it is ornamented by fine palaces and gardens."

Thus had the second city of the Empire fallen in less than two centuries of persistent misgovernment. In little more than the fifty years postulated for her total disappearance Lahore had renewed her youth. In 1865 the population had risen to 120,000 and was increasing at the rate of 1 per cent. yearly. The old monuments have now been preserved and restored, among recent buildings are found those of the Punjab University, the Oriental College, the State College, the Medical School, the Law School, the Normal School, the Mayo Hospital, the Museum, the Town-Hall, and many others, useful and sometimes ornamental structures: some of them erected, wholly or in great part, by the enterprise and munificence of native Princes and capitalists.

We hear some of the unsympathetic attitude of the modern Rulers as if they were mere conquerors eager to fill their capitals with monuments. But in regard to this superficial view we must remember that, if the British were conquerors it would be the experience of History that they

should be sympathetic with the conquered. As it happens, India is not a conquered country; and has never been treated as such by the British. In a strictly legal sense, perhaps, a distinction had to be drawn between "ceded" and "conquered" Provinces, in Upper India, because one portion had been acquired by treaty after war and the other by amicable arrangement: the Lower Duab having been obtained, for a consideration, from the Nawab of Oudh, while the country from Cawnpore to Kurnal was extorted from Perron and his master.* Moira, too,—as has been shown—overthrew the Peshwa and the Pindaris.

Nevertheless, in the popular acceptance of the word, there was no conquest in either case, Sindhia and Perron being alike foreign intruders, whose own dominion there was not of twenty-five years' date: the Peshwa himself was but an usurper. By "conquest" is understood the bearing down by invasion of a more or less earnest national resistance; not merely the overthrow of unconstitutional Rulers. In that case, where the people have opposed the invaders, they become—when the war is ended by their defeat—a subjugated body of persons liable to death, captivity, or enslavement. It has been laid down by international publicists, that "the English system" is always imposed upon nations thus reduced to impotence by conquest; and a well-known writer on the matter cites the case of Ireland as affording a familiar illustration.

Now, from this point of view, it is clear that the Upper Provinces of India were never conquered: when Lake advanced from the "Ceded Provinces," the further part of the Duab fell before his arms, so far as the defence of Perron and Sindhia was concerned. But Sindhia and Perron were both foreign intruders themselves; and the real Sovereign was the aged Emperor, who made no opposition, but on the contrary, welcomed the British General and conferred upon him the second highest title in the old Moghul hierarchy. Neither did the people offer any resistance, nor any of their ancient Rajas or other dynasties; though certain Robber-barons attempted sporadic insurrections and dacoities, as was naturally to be expected. This being so, the indigenous laws and customs were observed and maintained from that day to this, certain indispensable reforms excepted, which have been gradually introduced from time to time. To these there has been no great or general opposition; and, even in the temporary paralysis of power that followed on the Revolt of 1857, the bulk of the population held aloof from the

* This truth is treated, with a masterly hand, in Seeley's "Expansion of England," where it is shown that, at the time of the so-called "Conquest" India, as a nation, did not exist.

mutineers and quickly returned to peaceful avocations as soon as the mutineers had been dispersed. The British power resumed its operations—those of a schoolmaster rather than of a parent; the people going on, as of old, with their time-honoured opinions and practices; in every conceivable respect differing from the Gaels of Ireland, whose lands have been parted out amongst Anglo-Norman adventurers, their tribal system superseded by that known to us as “feudal”; their Brehon Law abolished to make way for the Common and Statute Law of the conquerors; their very language all but rooted out.

From this it will be seen that India is not, generally speaking, “a conquered country.” The Moghul Empire, having broken down, the sceptres of some of its component Provinces were, in course of time, wrested from the incompetent hands which tried in vain to wield them; other princes, with better titles, fortune, or judgment, held their seats, but submitted to control from the new paramount Power; in no case were any social organs that were capable of work ever set aside or destroyed. The new-comers, assuming this controlling power, founded their rule upon an inarticulate *plebiscitum*, expressed by silence, but none the less understood to be conditioned on faith and justice to be observed by them.

These considerations, far from diminishing the importance of Wellesley's policy, invest it with a special interest. We have already seen that his object was to assert the rights of his Government without infringing those of other States. At the beginning of the century the rights of the British Government extended to the Provinces which they had obtained by grant from the Emperor, or from his Vazir, the Nawab of Oudh. These they had to maintain, whether against Mahratta, Moslem, or European foreigner. If Upper India had been left to itself, it would have been a menace to the rest of the country, like a house on fire in the next street. While these anxieties were at their worst, the Governments of France and England broke off the Peace of Amiens; and Wellesley perceived the necessity of leaving nothing neglected that could protect the British Empire from the ambitious and unscrupulous Corsican who had made himself master of France. The splendour of Napoleon's genius and the pathos of his fall have combined to invest his name with a glamour that throws into the shade the figures of our brave ancestors who saved us and deliv'ered Europe. But it is a fact that ought never to be forgotten, that for many a month transport lay in Boulogne harbour, and on the heights above stood a vast army eager to cross over to the shores held by those valiant but anxious sires of ours.

The Marquess Wellesley was one of the watchmen of the Empire; and it is impossible to read his despatches of that time without seeing that he thought, whether rightly or wrongly, that one of the defences of Dover was at Delhi. For a lucid summary of the British policy at that period, no better or more lucid statement could be made than what is embodied in the summary of the Governor-General's yet more famous brother, in Mr. Sydney Owen's *Selections from the Wellington Despatches*. About the same time a young traveller recorded in his Diary an experience which befel him in marching through Orissa. A begging friar was found sitting by the way-side: "He spoke to us without any respect . . . called us to him, but would not let us pass his boundary. When we were near, he said, 'Listen! When will you take this country? This country wants you: the Hindus are villains. When will you take the country?' We answered, 'Never.' He said, 'Yes! you will certainly take it'."*

That little colloquy, which puts the case in the fewest possible words, expresses what must have been a very widespread feeling. So far back as 1761 we saw a Franco-Scot—the Chevalier Law—declaring to the Moslem historian that from Poona to Delhi he could find nothing deserving to be called a "government." But to be governed is the first great need of an Asiatic who is not an absolute savage. Their very vocabularies show this: there is no word in any Asiatic idiom answering to "citizen;" the subjects are *raya*—protected.† The Indian subject will judge his ruler by this criterion; and the discriminating estimate of the modern Rulers of India supplied by a late eminent Russian journalist really conveys the highest commendation:—

"In reality the English have been the saviours of India. During whole centuries the history of India presents one continual spectacle of murder and devastation. The bloody era closes with the occupation of the country by the English, whose rule has been incomparably more mild, humane, and just than any Government under which the Indians have ever lived."‡

Whether the French, or the Russians themselves, would manage the country better, can only be dimly conjectured by those who have studied the cases of Central Asia under the one, and North Africa under the other. To the natives, at least, the answer is unknown: and nothing is more terrible than the unknown for Asiatics. In any case the people of

* Colebrooke's *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Vol. I.

† From the Arabic (رعي) meaning "to pasture" or "tend," like sheep. Hence the Anglo-Indian term "Ryot."

‡ Michael Katkoff, in the *Moscow Gazette*.

India cannot but gain by being reminded of the state of their country before the so-called "conquest."

But there is also a lesson to be learned by the ruling race; that an immigrant dominion can be preserved only by constant renewal of immigration. The social air of India is as degenerating to foreign virtue as her physical climate is relaxing to foreign strength. This truth holds through every department of life, and in all periods of Indian history. The breed of Indian horses is not maintained, in beauty and vigour, unless good sires and dams are imported from time to time. Without continual sowing of new seed, fruit and vegetables turn to weeds in the best tended gardens. We have seen how rapidly the Greeks in India decayed when communication with Europe was cut off. The same thing happened under the Moghul Empire. The men who followed Baber from Turkestan were white men, with ruddy cheeks and fair hair; a Spanish traveller, so late as the fourth generation after Baber, noted the "rutilous" beauty of the Moghul ladies whom he met at a dinner-party; "fairer" he said, in his high-flown Castilian way, "than any that the frigid Boreas engenders." The Moghul Emperors adopted the generous policy of employing native Moslems, and even Hindus, when they could find men of those classes fit for high command: yet they never failed to employ as many of these white immigrants from Central Asia and Persia as was at all possible. At length, after the reign of Muhamad Shah (who died in 1748), the Empire fell into confusion; the Punjab became a cockpit for Sikhs and Afghans; immigration ceased; the Moghul State fell into the ruin we have seen—for want of fresh northern blood it perished of anæmia, even as Manchu China seems to be doing now.

These facts by no means imply that native talent is not to be encouraged, or native valour and loyalty to be trusted. The trained Regulars who conquered the brave Rajputs at Mirta and Sangar; the British sepoy who beat the Regulars at Asai and destroyed the Sikh armies at Sabraon and Gujarat, were as good soldiers as those they vanquished; but they were led by European officers. If the policy of Sindhia effected any cure of the Moghul anæmia, it was done by restoring the recourse to fresh blood for purposes of example and control: and surely no wise native of India can wonder if the British now adopt the principle that was forced on their own rulers. Ambaji and Begum Sombre would have made little show, either in war or in peace, without General de Boigne and his best officers; it was their presence and their teaching that made the difference between Sindhia's regular sepoy and the Moghuls of Ismail Beg or the Rathors of Bijai Singh.

The superiority of most of the foreigners has been abund-

antly shown in the preceding chapters. In the first place, there was the essential difference induced by *discipline*. It has been already pointed out, that the native soldier was brave and faithful. We see for ourselves that he is so still. Put him behind a little cover, and he will skirmish or fire long shots all day. Inspire him with a point of honour and he will die in defence of his post—like the men of the 36th Sikhs at Saragarhi. Skinner illustrates this latter characteristic of the men of his day in a story that is very touching in its undecorated pathos. In 1804, after the war was over, but while dacoits and disbanded soldiers were still roaming about the country, he came with a British column to a fort which the commanding officer deemed it his duty to take. It was held by 13 Rajputs, put in by some unnamed chieftain, but whom Skinner—who, as we have seen, was at that time full of native sympathy—persuaded to give up the place on his promise that they should not be disarmed. He brought them before the British Commander; but this gentleman repudiated the clause and insisted on their weapons being left when they took their departure. The poor fellows appealed to Skinner, who warmly responded, while the Rajputs prostrated themselves in tears at his feet. “See, sir,” said he, “I brought these men to you on an engagement which—as it appears—you are unable to ratify: I submit that we are bound to put them back as they were; you can then take what course you think proper.” The officer saw the justice of this plea; the Rajputs were allowed to march back to the fort with their arms; and they returned thither with expressions of joy: presently the British sent a storming party against them to scale the walls. The little garrison crouched behind their parapet until the stormers attained the wall; then each fired, and killed his man. A second body was at once sent forward, and met with the same fate. Finally, preparations being made for blowing down the gate with powder-bags, the Rajputs laid down their matchlocks, opened the gate, and received the third set of assailants sword-in-hand. When the fort was at last taken the 13 were found bayoneted, in the gateway, with a mound of dead British sepoy lying round.

Such men were not cowards, though it is quite possible that, had the positions been reversed, the fort might never have been taken. The British sepoy who went up to the walls to be shot, or who fell round the desperate defenders in the gateway, were of the same blood and character; but they were disciplined men, each of whom knew that his comrades would obey orders without thought of what the consequence might be to himself; they would not have opened the gate without orders which no skilled officer would have issued. *Science* in

war is founded on genius informed by study, and only within the reach of a few ; but the *art* of combat invokes an unselfish neglect, and the habit of trusting to one's associates and to one's leader. The brave 13 may have had neither the one nor the other ; but each of them knew how to die fighting. This brings out the other point of distinction. However brave the oriental soldiers may be (and the wars of the Russians against the Turks in Eastern Europe are enough to exemplify this), they must succumb—soon or late—to the inferior education, or the inferior character, of the officers who lead them. Men who are to prevail in war ought to be commanded by persons whom they can both trust and respect ; who will set them examples of prolonged endurance and sustained enterprise, in the face of all difficulties and sources of discouragement. These are qualities often found in Europeans because their ancestors have been free citizens, or—at least—have been accustomed to deal with events and institutions of a complicated nature. For that reason alone they are likely to win the regard and obedience of men descended from generations rendered torpid by the conditions of the stagnant and easy-going East. Thus, the Sikhs, beaten by Thomas, attained supremacy over the Afghans when organised by Ventura and Avitabile, but were conquered by Bengal sepoys led by British officers and supported by British regiments ; the Sikhs, on their part, were good against any odds in Bengal sepoys when these conditions were reversed. These doctrines had been patent ever since the day of the *Anabasis*, for those who cared to observe and think for themselves : they still awaited the demonstration of universal induction from the Indian wars of the 18th century, and from the lives and characters of the adventurers as here set forth.

• No one, however, could suppose that the employment of foreigners in positions of gain and honour was a natural usage ; or that Sindhiā and his imitators would have shown so much favour to Generals de Boigne and Perron if they could have found equally good subordinates among their own people. Arthur Wellesley recorded the opinion that these chiefs would have done better had they never entertained a European servant : but they, perhaps, knew their own business better even than he : in any case what one did another had to do, on pain of ruin and destruction : and, so long as British power held aloof, success attended the experiment. Those chiefs did best who employed the best officers : and under them a beginning of order appeared in the affairs of the community.

But, although civil administration may have shown some slight improvement where these adventurers had brought back peace to the troubled land, they were not—as we have seen—

nearly so successful in that direction as they were in war; and what has been said here is not to be applied without reservation to the practice of civil Government. Here also there are certain qualities of energy and firmness, which are best maintained by a constant renewal of the supply of officers from the governing country. Yet we ought surely to remember that some among the very greatest Indian administrators and statesmen have always been natives of India; from Sher Shah and Todar Mall down to the recent days of Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhava Rao. Other qualifications are required for civil employ besides courage and initiative. Should it still seem good to any one to assert that the people are happier under the rule of the native States than they are in British India, the means of disproof might not be easily found: although the British official might, no doubt, deny the assertion and shift from his own shoulders the burden of demonstration. One thing, at least, requires no argument: it is beyond the scope of controversy that these very Native States are only defended, against each other and from foreign foes, by the military strength of Great Britain based on the incomparable valour of British officers. Should it ever be proved that the bulk of the native population really do prefer the uncontrolled rule of Rajas and Nawabs, it may, perhaps, be said that their ideals are so hopelessly Bohemian as to forbid all prospect of civilising progress. But even so, the peace must be kept by military men who are alike superior to fear and to favour.

"During whole generations," wrote the Moscow journalist already cited, "the history of India presents one continual spectacle of murder and devastation." The amendment of this has been the mission of Great Britain, though her agents may have originally gone out in search of trade alone. But the doctrine of "Hinterland" was even then pressing; and, in place of trade following the flag, it made the flag follow trade. Looking back on the conditions indicated on these pages we can hardly imagine any other development possible.

ART. II.—RURAL BEHAR.

GEOGRAPHICALLY considered, India has been called an epitome of the world. From the point of view of the sociologist, it represents, in miniature, human society in general. It presents for the speculations of the comparative mythologist, all forms of faith, from the grossest fetishism to the most enlightened rationalism, almost bordering on agnosticism. The chronicler of progress will find in it all grades of civilisation from the barbarism of some of the Polynesian islands to the highest refinement of modern Europe. Between these extremes, one comes across an interminable series of intermediate stages of advancement, each worthy of study and capable of affording valuable suggestions for the guidance of the statesman and much useful material for the labours of the scientist. One of these we purpose to lay before our readers, *viz.*, that represented by Rural Behar, hitherto a sealed book to even many well-informed persons.

The Behar village is an agglomeration of huts with narrow and irregular lanes between them. It is surrounded on all sides by fields, cultivated generally by the villagers, but in a few instances in the occupation of the residents of other and neighbouring villages. In the selection of its site, experience has, it seems, taught the simple people to give preference to high grounds; and even the fields in its immediate vicinity, which are called "*Dih's*," are higher than the outlying ones known as *Bahurşa*. The *Dih* lands are more highly valued on account both of their convenient proximity to the *busti*, and of their superior productive powers, due to a constant supply of water from the drainage, and of manure from the dirt and filth of the village. The houses are generally roofed with tiles excepting those of the poorest, which are thatched with straw. But in the case of places where, as in parts of the Gya district, paddy forms the staple crop, the huts, as a rule, are thatched with straw, and only the dwellings of a few of the more substantial men are tiled. The violation of the general rule is accounted for by the abundance and cheapness of straw in these places. The houses are mostly mud-built, and where, as on the banks of rivers, as at Koilwar, there is a large admixture of sand in the soil, a lattice-work of twigs and branches forms a covering for the walls and protects them from the beating of the rain. Every principle of sanitation and symmetry is ignored in the construction of houses in Rural Behar, and a stranger would think that they were made neither "to live in, nor to look at." The possession of a window is a rare

luxury, which it seldom falls to the lot of a villager to enjoy, and he would seem to regard it more in the nature of a curse than of a blessing.

This distaste for windows, which is also to be noticed in the towns of Behar, has, it is believed, its root in the sentiment for female seclusion, which dates from the days of Mahommedan rule, and in the insecurity of property in early times. But though windows are in as great disfavour in villages as in towns, the regard for the *pardah* is not so strict in the former as in the latter. Women, even of the respectable classes, though they seldom go out of the *busti*, are as seldom immured within the four walls of the *zenana*.

The absence of windows is not compensated by a multiplicity of doors. The causes which operate to exclude windows from the plan of house building, have also tended to assign only one entrance to each room of the house. One of the criteria of the circumstances of the householder is afforded by the character of these openings for ingress and egress. In some dwellings, namely, those of the poorest, there are no doors or doors-frames attached to any of these openings, and even the main entrance leading to the house is without them. In others, again, especially those of the well-to-do classes, all the entrances are provided with these necessary appendages. Between these two extremes, however, there are various kinds of abodes, more or less pretentious in character, in which the number of openings furnished with these useful requisites varies with the circumstances and the taste of the owner, the humblest among them being those which have the outer entrance only supplied with these fixtures. It is in habitations like these that the rural population of Behar spend their miserable lives. They pass their days mostly in the open air, either in their own work or in that of their employers. In summer they sleep generally in the verandah, or in the courtyard, or in the open space of ground in front of their houses, or even in the streets, if any, adjoining them, but seldom or never in the rooms. People of the well-to-do classes use a *charpoy*, or a rude substitute for a bedstead, while the poorer people sleep on palm-leaf mats spread on the ground. In winter, the villagers are confined at night to their rooms, or, where there is not a sufficiency of them, to the verandah; and there they rest on pallets of straw, the warmth and comfort of which are preferred to the *charpoy*s, even by those who have the latter. The women, moreover, are seldom without the luxury of the *barsi*, an earthen pot in which a fire is kept up; and men, too, at times do not hesitate to share an enjoyment which is specially affected by the more delicate sex. In the winter evenings, men of the lower orders generally assem-

ble round a fire lighted with the refuse of the farm-yard at a place where generally the cattle are tethered in an open space of ground in front of the house, or under a tree adjoining it. Here they sit and talk of their household or village concerns, of the prospects of the crops, or the dulness of the markets, of the exactions of their landlord, or, under bated breath, of the oppressions of the Police, of the breach in the reputation of some young woman, or of the *Punchayet* that is going to be held over the delinquency of her seducer.

Coal or coke has not yet come to be employed for culinary purposes in rural Behar, and in many villages the only kind of fuel available is cow-dung cake. Cow-dung is much prized as one of the best of animal manures, and the ashes of it when burnt, together with other sweepings, are collected and stored in a place set apart for the purpose, in the house of the cultivator, for subsequent use in the fields.

The villages are sometimes connected with each other and generally with the nearest Railway Station by roads made by the Local and District Boards. These serve as feeders to the railway lines and help to convey the surplus produce of the villages to the nearest local mart, or for transport by railway to other places where there is a demand for them. In a fertile locality is often to be seen in the neighbourhood of railway stations a cluster of warehouses and godowns belonging to merchants, generally from other parts of the country, for the purchase and export of these commodities. This network of Road-cess roads, though so essential in the economy of Rural Behar, may, unfortunately, from the mode of their construction, prove a source of great danger to the health of the community; and if the theory of obstructed drainage being the cause of malarious fever be correct, subject Behar to the recurring visitations of a pest which decimated Lower Bengal some years ago and is still lurking, though in a less virulent form, in some of its fairest districts. We have often found these roads made in total disregard of the slope of the country and obstructing its natural drainage. In some cases, this breach of what should have been the fundamental principle of road-making in India, has been so flagrant, that, while the fields on one side of the road are, on account of the obstruction caused by it, submerged during the rains and thus rendered unfit for cultivation, the lands on the other side are cut off from their necessary supply of water. This indifference to sanitary laws arises we believe, from ignorance of them; and hygiene, we think might very profitably form a part of the curriculum of studies prescribed for engineers. It is high time that our engineers should learn that houses should be so built as to satisfy the

conditions necessary for the health of their inmates, and that roads should be so made as not to interfere with the sanitation of the locality.

On two days in the week, a market is held in the village, or some neighbouring one, at which articles of food of the commonest and coarsest kind, necessary for bare subsistence, may be had, and where the people from the surrounding localities come to buy and sell them. Though the primitive barter is not an infrequent form of transaction in Rural Behar, and though we are often reminded of the Homeric times when "a hundred beeves the shining purchase bought," the dealings at these markets are generally carried on through the medium of money. Besides the ordinary coins, money is represented by small uncoined pieces of copper, rectangular in shape, called differently, in different parts of the country, *Kutchas*, *hepuas* or *Gorakpuris*, or *Luhias* where the metal employed is iron instead of copper. The weights and measures of the country diverge widely from those prevalent in urban areas, though exact uniformity in this matter is not observed even in the different towns. The *seer*, the unit of weight, consists, in the most usual form, of 12 gundahs only, or, in other words, of the weight of 48 Rupees—the standard *seer* being the weight of 60 Rupees. The *Paseri* (which literally means five seers and presents that weight in civic communities) is equivalent to $\frac{1}{2}$ *kutchas*, or village, seers in rural tracts.

It must not be supposed that the humdrum round of drudgery of a Behar peasant is unrelieved by any redeeming features. Fishing often forms an ordinary recreation for him. The monotony of his existence is further broken by the occurrence of feasts and festivals, so frequent in the religious calendar of a Hindu or Mahomedan, which form the red-letter days of his life. The *Holi* and the *Dewali*, the *Eid* and the *Mohurram*, are looked forward to with the greatest expectancy and interest, and exercise a considerable influence, generally for good, on the life of the people. To a superficial observer it seems strange, however, that, while the Mahomedans do not generally participate in the religious festivities of the Hindus, there are thousands of Hindus who do not trouble to join in the festivals of Islam. Those, however, who live below the surface and are acquainted with the real nature of Hinduism, know that this is only an index of its all-embracing and catholic character. It is not strange that the votaries of a religion which inculcates the noble truth embodied in the verses:—

“यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य शान्तिर्भवति भारत ! ।

अतुलानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥”

“পরিভ্রাণায় সাধনাং বিনাশায় চ হৃদয়তাম্,
ধর্মসংস্থাপনার্থায় সন্তবামি যুগে যুগে ॥”

should take part in doing honour to the memory of the Saints and Imams of Mahomedanism, or of the Prophet. The applicability of the dictum was never meant to be confined to the geographical limits of India, and, viewed in the light of these verses, the founders of other faiths are but the incarnations of the same Divine Spirit that is supposed to have inspired the author of the *Gita*.

Besides these ordinary breaks in the continuity of the prosaic life of the village, an element of romance and poetry is imparted to it by the periodic fairs held in various parts of the Province. The bulk of the rural population—men, women and children—even from distant parts of the Province, flock to these gatherings, which play an important part in the complicated system of Indian society. As nothing in India is absolutely free from a tincture of religion, most of these fairs, if not all, were invested with an odour of sanctity, in their inception, from which they have not been dissociated even to the present day. The sites at which they are held are generally regarded as sacred, being at the confluences of holy streams, the vicinity of consecrated springs, or the neighbourhood of shrines whose reputation for religious merit runs high in the locality. Almost invariably these gatherings take place on days sacred to some God, or allotted to some particular festival; and originally the people from the surrounding territory used to flock to these spots either to perform their ablutions or to worship. The congregation of so many persons gave rise to the necessity of providing for their creature-comforts, and stalls of country confectionery came in time to be held there. Vendors of other goods began to perceive their opportunity, and temporary sheds came gradually to be erected on such occasions for the sale of the different necessities and luxuries of village life. The success of these traders and the growing fame of the fairs attracted dealers of various classes and added to the number of visitors and sight-seers. The scope and extent of the *mêla* was by degrees thus expanded, and people began to combine motives of religion, business, and pleasure in their visits to the fair. Among the principal objects which change hands at many of these *mêlas*, are cattle, which form such an important factor of agricultural industry. People who have a bullock or heifer to spare, for instance, come to part with it at the *mêla*, where purchasers are found among those who want one.

At this moment we can call to mind no fewer than fourteen of the more important of these fairs, held at different places

and on different days of the year. On the occasion of the *Sībarati* in the month of February or March, and again on the *Trayadasi* day in the month of Baisakh (April), a *mēla* takes place at Kat Berhampur close to the Railway Station of Raghunathpur in the district of Shahabad, on the grounds adjoining a temple dedicated to Shiva; another at Bihta, on the East Indian Railway in the district of Patna, and a third in the district of Sarun at a place known as *Brigu Asram*, from the hermitage of the Sage Bhirgu, believed to have been situated there in ancient times. On the day sacred to Shiva, are also to be seen, at places remote from each other, many more gatherings of the same kind, half-secular, half-religious in their character—at Seonar, for instance, near Barh, and at Deokund in the Arungabad Sub-division of the Gya district, where tradition locates the site of *Chaman Rishi's* Retreat. On the same day at Baikatpur, within an easy walk of the E. I. R. Station of Khusonpur, a fair is held in honour of the God Shiva and his wife Parvati, whose love for each other could not brook the idea of the separation implied in the possession of two different bodies, and they are accordingly represented as having one only in the figure of Gouri-Shankar, whose temple is pleasantly situated on the bank of the river Ganges. It continues for two days on this occasion, but is renewed on every Monday of the month of Sravan (July-August), and again on the last Monday of the month of Bhadra, when the Gods have their annual change of dress. The Hindu festival of *Ram Navami*, sacred to Ram, witnesses every year a gathering at Janakpur, in olden times the capital of the pious King Janak, in the district of Durbhanga. The *laun*, or the extraordinary month which is added triennially to the Fuslee or lunar year of Behar to make it keep pace with the solar calendar, is the occasion of a grand fair at Rajgir, about 18 miles distant from the head-quarters of the Behar Sub-division of the Patna district. The place is of great antiquity and seems to have taken its name, which is a corruption of the word Rajgriha, from the castle of King Jarasindhu. It is noted for its hot springs, ablution in the waters of which is supposed to confer great spiritual benefit. The assemblage of people at the time of the fair is so vast, and the gains to the priest who officiate at the baths and the other rites pertinent to the occasion, are supposed to be so enormous, that even the nature of their duties and the character of their claims have been dragged into the uncongenial atmosphere of our courts and examined in the dry light of law and that matter of fact realism which is fatal to the religious-sentiments with which these holy offices have been for centuries invested. Babu Nistaran Banerjea, M.A., B.L., Munshiff of

Behar, was lately called upon to decide the rights of the landlord to a share of these profits of the priesthood, and we make no apology for giving below an extract from his lucid and elaborate judgment which has brought into a focus all that is known about the origin and history of the *mêla*.

"About the antiquity of Rajgir, there cannot be any serious contention. Hindu tradition speaks of the place as the capital of *Jarasindhu*—King of Magadha, who was one of the principal actors in the great war celebrated in the Epic Poem of *Mahabharat*, and this was about the 15th century before the Christian Era. Major-General Cunningham considers that the new town of Rajgir was built at some period not later than 560 B.C., according to Buddhist chronology. The researches of Broadley, published in the *Indian Antiquary* and those of Dr. Buchanan in his work on *Indian Antiquities* point in the same direction. There are hot springs at Rajgir which lie on the banks of a rivulet known as the *Saraswati*. The temperature of the water varies at different places of the springs, or the *Kunds* as they are called. About the origin of these Kunds, nothing certain is known; but that they have a distinct Hindu origin, as is shown by their names—Ganga-Jumna, Ananta-Rishi, Sapta-Reshi, Brahma-Kund and so forth, is apparent. Whether these spots were places of religious worship before the ascendancy of Buddhism is not known; but there cannot be any doubt that, after the overthrow of Buddhism and the fresh revival of Hinduism, these places became objects of religious pilgrimage if they had not been so at one time long before that. In course of time it came to pass that pilgrimages to the spot during the *laung* (Hindustani leap year) and bath in the springs—were considered highly efficacious. Vast concourse of people attracted by religious enthusiasm assembled there, and the *laung mêla* every third year became a well-recognised institution."

The day of the full moon in the month of Kartic, sanctified in the popular imagination by the love-adventures of Sri Krishna, is the time for various such gatherings in distant and different parts of the country, such as Gya and Sonapur. The one at Gya, irrespectively of its religious aspect, is mainly noted for the sale of cattle of all kinds by the country folk. But pre-eminent among the fairs of the province, and perhaps of all India, is the one at Sonapur, held in honour of Harihar Nath, whose image in the temple at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak is believed to have been set up there by Rama, while on his journey to the forests of the Deccan, in obedience to his father's behest. The gathering lasts for about a month, is visited by thousands of persons from all parts of India, and is the occasion of the most extensive sale.

of live-stock. Elephants, camels, cattle of all sorts and descriptions, dogs, birds and other animals are to be found in great abundance, but the number and variety of horses brought there for sale is something remarkable. All Northern India contributes its quota to this famous horse-show. There may be seen the sturdy breed of Kathiawar, the hardy horses of Hardwar, the sure-footed hill-ponies of Bhootan. Besides this grand gathering of animals, the *méla* offers a collection of country-manufactures from all parts of India. The beautiful ivory work of Delhi, the brass-wares of Benares, the bell-metal articles of Sewan, the carpets of Mirzapur, the tents of Cawnpur, Patna and Buxar, the iron-wares of Chupra—are all presented for sale in this national exhibition. Besides these luxuries of civilisation, the fair offers the simple peasant of Behar all that he wants to satisfy the needs of agricultural life and labour.

In addition to country manufactures, enterprising shops for the sale of European goods from the metropolis and the district and provincial capitals do not neglect this opportunity for doing a smart business. Custom has allotted particular places for the different classes of goods and manufactures, and there is seldom a departure from the old-established practice on this point. The sites of *Minabara* and *Boabara* are as certain as are those of the several bazars in the principal Market of Calcutta. The stalls and booths in these bazars are arranged in rows, having open spaces between, which is duty for streets and roads. But one of the great attractions of the fair is the European quarter. The Sonapur Fair furnishes the occasion of a sort of annual picnic to many of the European officials and non-officials of the neighbouring districts. They remain in it for nearly a week when it is in its full swing. All sorts of amusements are got up for their entertainment. They have their races and balls, their cricket and Badminton. A city of canvas is improvised with their *shámidáns* and tents pitched in lines running parallel to each other, with large spaces between to serve for roads. The *shámidáns* are generally placed in front of the tents, and below them are spread beautiful carpets on which are placed chairs and sofas as if in a drawing-room. Each camp is charmingly decorated with an abundance of flower pots artistically arranged. It is fancifully illuminated at night with lamps and Chinese lanterns suspended from the trees with which the place abounds, and the whole scene wears the aspect of fairy land. Turning for a moment from the *méla* to the temple of Harihar Nath, on the morning of the day of the full moon, we find the gate of the quadrangle surrounding it besieged by a throng of earnest devotees, each struggling with the

other to effect an entrance. This surging crowd presents the appearance of an impenetrable mass which completely blocks the passage, and the bulk of it have to be content with simply pelting against the wall, over the gate, a small earthen vessel containing the water of the sacred river intended to be poured on the head of the God, who, it seems, is credited with taking the wish for the deed.

Islam is not behindhand in the matter of such gathering. The *mêlâs* at Monair and Phulwari are both of Mahomedan origin. The latter celebrates the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet, and is held on the 11th and 12th of the Hijree month of Rabi-ul-awal, on the occasion of the Mahomedan festival of *Fateha-dooz-dohum*. Phulwari has gathered round it an aroma of sanctity from its being the seat of a long line of Shahs, or spiritual preceptors, reputed for their piety and learning and credited with miraculous powers. On the occasion in question prayers are offered, the memory of the Prophet is blessed, and verses from the holy Scriptures are recited under the presidency of the Shah. But the part of the programme at such religious meetings which forms the source of the greatest popular attraction is, as with the Capuchins, the exhibition of holy relics, such as a hair believed to be from the beard of Mahomed. The *sufism* (liberalism) of the Shah of Phulwari permits the introduction of music at these religious sermons and the feelings of the Shah and of his congregation generally worked up to such a pitch that it is not an uncommon phenomenon to witness the voluntary or involuntary contortions and gesticulations habitual to the Puritans of old. Hindus join with the followers of Islam in flocking to these assemblies. In course of time they began to attract such large crowds that shop-keepers and public purveyors saw their opportunity and seized upon it to their advantage.

The other *mêla*, also Mahomedan in its inception, is the one known as Ghazi Mia's *mêla*, and takes place at Monair on a Sunday in the month of Jeyt, lasting for one day only. Shop-keepers from Dinapur, Patna, Chupra and Arrah come there and hold their stalls on the Eastern-side, and sometimes, for want of accommodation, on the other sides, of the pond attached to the famous mausoleum of Monair, noted for its beauty and antiquity and known as *Makdum Sahib's Durgah*. These stalls and booths are mostly for the sale of sweetmeats, fruits, toys and articles of feminine toilette prized by the rustic dames of the adjoining villages, who, clothed in their best attire, go out holiday-making with the men whenever a fair is held in their neighbourhood. Flags called Ghazi Mia's, from which the *mêla* has taken its name, are planted on the eastern side of the pond which, by

a subterranean aqueduct, used to receive, when necessary, an accession of water from the river Sone. The rude music of the country is discoursed from under these flags, and the complete transformation of the scene in the course of a single day from death-like silence and dull dreaminess to obstreperous mirth and crowded jollity reminds one of the mediæval fairy transmutations effected by the magician's wand. This is a noteworthy peculiarity of these gatherings, and one which adds a greater romance to them, that they are frequented more largely by the women even than by the men.

After this imperfect sketch of the environments of village life, let us next survey some of the principal classes composing the rural population. Though the most prominent figure in the village community is unquestionably the peasant, he has been of late, during the discussions in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Act and the Cadastral Survey, so often before the public, that he may be dismissed with a bare mention. His life of patient labour and suffering, his state of chronic indebtedness and poverty, his relations with the zemindar and the money-lender, and in some cases the exactions of the former and the cunning with which he tries to evade or the courage to stand against them, have become familiar to every one conversant with the literature of the legislation in question. In some rare instances, the oppressive attitude of his landlord has developed in him qualities which have not only made him the trusted representative of his fellow villagers in their struggles against the zemindar, but have strained to the utmost the powers of our legislature to protect the interests of the landholding class. We have seen the entire tenantry following the lead of these village Hampdens and unfurling the standard of revolt by acts of open defiance of the landlord.

The Bunya.—The person next in importance to the cultivator or producer is the Bunya, or the person who forms the first link in the chain of agency which conveys the surplus produce of one place to the consumer at a far off one. He may be seen of a morning leading his pack-bullocks laden with grain or pulse, chillies or jaggery, to a neighbouring market, or the nearest Railway Station. Sometimes, when he has no bullocks of his own, or when he is rich enough to make purchases on a large scale, he entrusts the commodity bought by him to the carrier, who takes it on his own bullocks to its destination.

The Gaureri or Shepherd.—The Gaureri is the shepherd in the strictest sense of the term. It is the calling of his caste to tend sheep and he generally follows that avocation. But it is seldom that he has a flock of his own to tend. The possession of a flock means some capital, but the circum-

stances of the *Gaureri* are generally so abject, that it is with the greatest difficulty that he manages to keep body and soul together from year's end to year's end. In very rare and exceptional cases, however, he happens not only to be the owner of the sheep, but is moreover in a position to engage others to keep them. As a rule he tends the flocks of other people on a pay which varies with different localities. Individuals and averages between eight annas and two rupees a month, in addition to a quantity of some sort of food grain or its equivalent in money, which he gets daily as his subsistence allowance. Sometimes he is paid in kind; that is to say, he gets half the outturn of wool on the occasion of every sheep-shearing, which generally takes place thrice a year, once in Kartic (October or November), once in Falgoun (February or March), and again in Asar (June or July). Besides his share of the wool, he may take the milk, if any, left after the nourishment of the young of the ewes in his charge. But though the milk and the *Ghi* (clarified butter) made from it are in great request in towns and other centres of civilisation on account of their medicinal properties, there is hardly any demand for them in the country, and consequently the gain to the *gaureri* from this source, whether as recognised allowance or as illicit perquisite, is more nominal than real. However much he may be steeped in poverty, an Indian is seldom without the luxury of a family more or less large. But what he gets barely suffices for his own maintenance, and his womenkind have to find employment as day-labourers either in weeding the fields, in transplanting the seedlings, or in reaping the crops when ready. And when the crops are reaped, they try to eke out their miserable livelihood by gleanings.

- Whatever the nature of his pay, the duties of the *gaureri* are almost always the same. He is entrusted with the flock by his master, and is responsible to him for their safe custody and keeping. The sheep live entirely by grazing, and the main business of the shepherd is to find suitable pastures for them. These are found in fields when they are bare, after the harvest is gathered, or when they lie fallow, and in waste lands or on hill-sides when the fields are sown with crops. As the dung of the sheep is considered to be one of the most fertilising of manures, when the sheep are quartered in a bare field, the owner of it has to reward the shepherd by giving him his food for the day, *viz.*, a pound or a pound and a half of rice or some other food grain. But this quantity is often regulated by the number of the sheep that he brings to graze on the land. Frequently the *Gaureri* has to go to places far away from his home and that of his master in search of pasturage for

his flock. It sometimes happens that many gaureris from neighbouring and distant villages congregate together on the same common, considerably remote from the habitations of man ; and there the shepherds improvise a temporary fold where man and beast find refuge from the inclemency of the weather. Here they remain for days and weeks together, till the grazing grounds are exhausted, when they break up their abode and seek "fresh fields and pastures new." The Barabar Hills in the district of Gya and the surrounding lands at their foot form such an annual resort, after the rains, for flocks from villages far and near. In some cases the flocks which the Gaureri has thus to feed and tend consist of sheep belonging, not to one, but to several individuals. The habits of these shepherds remind one of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia, and probably also of our primitive forefathers, going about with their flocks, now pitching their tents at one place and now at another, till the country round is denuded of its green garniture.

Besides the usual business of his class, the Gaureri finds as frequently a useful occupation in the manufacture of blankets, either on his own account, or as an employee of others. The material used in making them is the wool of the sheep, which is greatly valued for this purpose, and is sold at some places, as in parts of the Gya district, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer per rupee. The blankets are prepared by manual labour, with the help of a sort of hand-loom, and are largely used both as an article of dress and as bedding by the lower orders of the people who can afford to enjoy this luxury. Unless, however, an improved system is introduced in the manufacture of the blanket, the encroachments of western civilisation threaten, in no distant future, to strangle an industry conducted on such archaic lines. Warned by the fate of other similar manufactures, the Indians, should, in this instance, take time by the forelock, or else this useful industry which forms the means of livelihood of thousands, will go the way of its predecessors which have perished in their unequal struggle for existence with mills and machinery. Already an improved plan of making blankets is being followed in our jails ; but as Government wisely steers clear of competition with private enterprise, and as the product of prison-labour is not the inexpensive article in ordinary use among the common people, this handicraft has not as yet been prejudicially affected to any appreciable extent.

The Cowherd.—Time and social conservatism have not succeeded, even in Behar, in impressing the character of a caste on those who were originally entrusted with the duties of the cowherd. One of the reasons at least is not far to seek. The nature of these duties being comparatively light, they are generally assigned to those who, from old age or boyhood, are

unfit for more active work. They consist in taking out the cattle of the villagers in the morning to graze in some adjacent common during the day and bring them back to the houses of their owners in the evening. They have, moreover, to milk them whenever necessary, and for these duties they are paid from two to three annas a month for each head of cattle. In the case of goats, however, the allowance is only an anna for each animal. Besides the usual monthly stipend a perquisite is granted to them in the shape of food or money on the occasion of feasts and festivals.

The Malla or Fisherman.—With his clan calling, of plying boats and fishing in the river, water-course or pool, the Malla, like many of the other residents of the village, combines a variety of occupations to eke out the slender and precarious subsistence derived from his ancestral vocation. As for the business of boatman, this he gets seldom, except when his village is in the neighbourhood of a river which is large enough and in a locality important enough to support a permanent ferry, or in which a ferry has to be kept up during the rainy season when it is not fordable, or except when he finds such employment in riparian towns away from his home. Like many of his co-villagers, he is often also the tenant of some land, which he cultivates. His women, too, like others of their social standing, work for wages in the fields or assist their husband or son in the agricultural operations of their own farm. Sometimes their business is as coolies to carry the surplus commodities of the village to the nearest market or Railway station.

Modern civilisation has made its aggressive inroads even on such remote outskirts of society as Rural Behar, and won for labour new fields of employment which afford remunerative work even to the Malla. The use of kunkur lime for architectural purposes in towns has widened the sphere of his usefulness, and given him an additional means of livelihood. A brisk business in getting out kunkur from the beds of rivers which abound in it and its conversion into lime has sprung up of late, and the Malla alone is employed in the operation of dredging to extract it. For every hundred cubic feet of kunkur so taken from the river and stacked on its bank, he gets in some localities Re. 1 and annas 4, and for the same quantity carried to the nearest Railway station, as at Belá, on the P. G. S. Railway, at a distance of a little more than two miles from the river side, the charge for cartage is Rs. 2-4. Besides the amount paid to the Malla and the carter, the owner of the riparian estate has to be paid an annual fee for the liberty to dredge for kunkur from a specified portion of the river.

The growth of this new industry has given employment to various classes of labourers, especially to the women of the poorer orders of the people. Those living in the vicinity of Railway stations are engaged in loading the kunkur in Railway trucks of different carrying capacities of from 340 to 462 maunds at some stations, at a rate ranging between 12 and 14 annas per truck for a given distance. Sometimes the women pick out the kunkur from the sandy banks of the rivers and carry it themselves, either to the nearest Railway station or to some place half way to it, whence it is again carted away to the former for conveyance by rail.

The Burhi (Carpenter).—Even the simple requirements of rural life in Behar demand the services of a carpenter and a smith, and there is hardly a village or a group of neighbouring villages which is without them. Two *paseris* of grain of each of the three principal crops of the year, *viz.*, the Autumn, Winter and Spring (*Bhadoi*, *Khareef* and *Rabbi*), are given to the carpenter by every agriculturist as his wages for the year, in addition to a bundle of sheaves of corn, not less than a *paseri*, which he gets when he goes to the fields at the reaping season of each of the crops. To obviate the chance of any dispute which might arise in estimating the quantity of sheaves that he is entitled to receive, the whole of his dues are sometimes commuted into nine *paseris* of grain, three of each description, seven *kutchá* seers making a *paseri*. His services consist in making the plough and other implements of husbandry, such as the handles of the spade, sickle, *kodari*, *khurpa* and *khurpi*, of wood supplied by the agriculturist. These generally last for a year; but he has to repair them, if necessary, in the course of it, without any further charge. Besides this, he has also to do all the carpenter's work in the making and putting up of the *Láthá*, which is a lever on a fulcrum—a rude device for drawing water from the well for purposes of irrigation. When he is employed on any work unconnected with agriculture, the peasant has to give him, on account of his day's labour, $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers (*kutchá*) of either rice or coarse flour, with a little salt and condiments for two meals, besides two annas in cash. When he does the work of other people, he works on a daily wage of four annas.

The Lohar (Blacksmith).—Like the carpenter, the village smith is also intimately connected with agricultural labour. He has the making of the plough-shares and the blades of other agricultural implements, with iron furnished by the husbandman. As a year's work is sufficient to wear them out, there is a perennial recurrence of the necessity for the exercise of his, as of the carpenter's, art. Like the carpenter, too, he is paid in kind and gets so many *paseris* of produce for each

ART. III.—A LITTLE-KNOWN MADRAS DISTRICT.

SITUATED half way between Bombay and Cape Comorin; South Canara forms the most northerly of the Madras districts, occupying the western portion of the Peninsula.

Geographically, the district is of peculiar interest, for the latitude of its chief town, Mangalore, is at the extreme end of the arc of parallel which is nearer to the Equator than any similar arc that has been measured in any part of the Globe. South Canara is essentially a forestal district, the slopes of the Western Ghâts, and even the plains lying within Canarese boundaries, being clothed with dense forests of magnificent timber, whose growth is stimulated by a copious rainfall; the average of which is at least 147 inches, or higher than that of any other district in Southern India. That the people understand how to make use of this abundant natural wealth, is clear, to some extent, from the fact that minor forest produce is extensively used for the manuring of the 500 odd square miles of land under rice cultivation in the district. In an ever-green and deciduous forest region, it is natural to find a wide and useful variety of timbers of commerce, and teak, blackwood, sandal-wood, ebony, cinnamon, &c., are common in all parts of the district. Within recent years the timber industry has been considerably developed through the exertions of the Forest Department, and a large and growing exportation is constantly taking place to Bombay, Mysore, and to several parts of the Madras Presidency. Such produce as pepper, cocoa-nuts, areca-nuts, ginger, myrabolams, cardamoms and sugarcane are also common, and their collection and cultivation afford employment at certain seasons to large numbers of poor people. Even in the matter of therapeutic plants, South Canara is eminently well off.

The forests are the home of the bison, elephant, tiger, sambar, cheetah, black bear and hyæna. The handsome large red squirrel of the woods, the pretty little mouse deer, and the curious Indian scaly ant-eater are to be found in the jungles and ghât forests. Crocodiles—not the mugger of Bengal rivers—are common in all the larger streams, and the boa constrictor grows to a greater size than elsewhere in the Peninsula. Its fat is esteemed by the natives as a valuable and unfailing specific for the most obstinate of cutaneous disorders. The entomologist, the ornithologist and the pisciculturist would revel in delight over the treasures that this rich region holds. Snipe, duck, and teal are plentiful, and the plover ranges all along the coast. The lordly *masheer* and the snake-like *ophiocephalus*

swarm in the streams, while tasty pomfret and seer, and humbler mackerel and sardine are caught at sea and in the estuaries. In fact, the hauls of the last two are at times so heavy that, to quote a certain witty London sub-editor, "Peter's record is frequently broken." The surplus of these hauls goes to make an excellent manure.

South Canara is not among the happy countries that have no history. It must at one time have formed part of the ancient Dravidian Kingdom of Chera, mentioned in Asoka's rock-cut inscriptions of the third century B. C., and its present name is undoubtedly a misnomer. By what curious accident of history it lost its real Tuluva identity is unknown. Ancient polyandrous customs; the existing *Aliya Santana* system of inheritance, whereby property descends in the female line from mother to daughter; the legend that the land was reclaimed from the sea by Parasu Rama, all go to show that it belonged to the ancient Kingdom of which Malabar itself was a portion. The most ancient written account which we find of South Canara is that contained in the Holy Scriptures. In the Third Book of Kings, Chapter X, we have an account of the riches and glories of Solomon and of the abundance of spices brought to him by the Queen of Sheba.*

There is sufficient historical evidence to warrant the belief that most of these spices went from the maritime region which, in modern times, has come to be known as South Canara. Pliny, Ptolemaios, Indicopleustes and other very early writers, in recording the commercial relations that subsisted in the earliest days of the Christian era between Greece, Egypt and Arabia on the one hand, and the Malabar Coast on the other, make frequent allusion to Nitrias (modern Mangalore), Kallianpur (a great port, which, according to Indicopleustes, exported brass and blackwood and cloth, and had a King of its own, with a community of Christians under a Persian Bishop), and to other Canarese ports which are still outlets for the commerce of the district. From the 7th to the 15th century when the Portuguese power reached the zenith of its greatness, the Moors monopolised the trade with South Canara. They fell back, but not without a long and heroic struggle, before the irresistible might of the then greatest of European nations, the nation which, mainly through the genius of Prince Henry, the Navigator, was enabled to deprive Genoa and Venice of the privilege of being the exclusive distributors of eastern commerce to European markets. The long Moorish connection with South Canara is still evidenced by the enterprising

* The identification of the country of the Queen of Sheba with Malabar is, we fear, unsustainable.--ED. C. R.

Moplah and Navayat communities, the former of whom are the result of unions between Arab sailors and native women, while the latter are the descendants of a little colony of Mussulmans that fled in the early part of the 8th century from the province of Iran to the Malabar Coast in order to avoid the persecution of a tyrannous ruler.

Early in the 16th century, the Portuguese put in an appearance on the coast of South Canara and gradually made themselves masters of the whole of the trade of the coast, completely crippling the maritime power of the Mohamedans in the Indian Ocean, and unconsciously paving the way for that great union between the East and the West which has already been productive of such benefit to the world, and is destined to be productive of yet a great deal more so long as what the Germans have happily described as the Eastern Trend goes on and helps to unite nations now alien in thought, religion, customs and manners, language, and large-hearted, cosmopolitan sympathy. It was her heroic age when Portugal discovered this splendid and priceless gem of Asia, and valiantly and heroically did her sons fight to wrest the prize from those who had so long held possession of it. The struggle for commercial supremacy in the Indian seas was a bitter and protracted one, but in the end victory remained with the European, and the late Sir William Hunter, describing the issue, observes with much truth, "the swift audacity of the hero-nation forms an epic compared with which our own early labours are plain prose."

Once the Portuguese had established their commercial supremacy, they began to levy a kind of tribute of grain at all the coast ports. The policy which they shaped out for their guidance and for the preservation of their Eastern interests and possessions was, firstly, to hold a monopoly of the sea-borne trade of the coast, maintaining for that purpose a large fleet and erecting factories at the various important ports along the coast of Africa and India; secondly, to conclude treaties with the Native Princes, without taking possession of any large provinces, and thirdly, to propagate Christianity by all the means at their disposal. It was a short-sighted, and, as it proved, a fatal policy. Christianity was repugnant to the deep-seated religious feelings of the Hindus and the Mohamedans alike, and the foreign traders, being associated with preachers and evangelists, fired by an ardent desire to spread the light of the Christian Gospel, came gradually to forfeit the confidence, excite the suspicion and stir up the wrath of the Native rulers and inhabitants. Naturally enough, the Portuguese hold on their newly-acquired commercial privileges slackened, instead of becoming strengthened with time. The distance between Portugal and India was in those days dreadfully long, and those

who had mapped out Portugal's Asiatic policy for her were compelled to admit the impossibility, under existing conditions, of maintaining a sufficiently strong protective fleet in such distant and unfriendly waters. Swift and glorious, therefore, as had been the rise of Portuguese power and dominion in South Canara, as also along the entire coast, equally swift and in a far greater degree inglorious was its decline. Only the remnants, the fading embers of the fire of Portuguese greatness remained when the English appeared upon the scene in the early years of the last century. An effort was, no doubt, made to fan those dying embers once more into flame; but the effort was fruitless, and the power of Portugal passed away even as a tale that is told. Yet, in South Canara, as in every other foreign country in which they have settled, the Portuguese have left behind them relics that will long survive, of their once influential and brilliant Eastern Empire. Roman Catholic Churches and Chapels are dotted all over the district, and congregations worship in them who have the same bigoted attachment to their faith that characterise the Roman Catholics of the Latin countries of Europe; in the most rural hamlets of the district, ryots and artisans go about bearing names that filled with lustre the most eventful pages in Portuguese history; and in respect of many of their domestic beliefs and superstitions, these Native Christians of South Canara serve to remind us from whom they imbibed most of their religious instincts.

Not long after the arrival of the British in South Canara, the district was convulsed by an invasion on the part of Tippu. This fearless but cruel and tyrannical Mohammedan suspected the Christian converts of assisting the English against him. This was too much for Tippu to endure, and a terrible persecution of the Christians ensued. In the course of a single night, 60,000 of them were seized and forcibly deported to Mysore. Their sufferings on the way were intense, and only a portion reached Seringapatam, where the men were circumcised and the able-bodied selected for military service. The lands of the Christians were confiscated and their Churches destroyed. Many of them returned after the fall of Seringapatam, and their descendants, numbering over 70,000, now form one of the most prosperous sections of the community.

In 1799, Seringapatam fell and the puissance of Tippu collapsed abruptly. In that year also, Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro became the first Collector of Canara. In 1834 the Coorgs gave trouble, and, three years later, another little rebellion broke out. Since then peace has prevailed. In 1862, the district was split into two, for commercial reasons chiefly, and North Canara became a part of the Bombay Presidency. But, notwithstanding this administrative separation, there is

still a strong bond of sympathy between the inhabitants of the two halves of a province which Nature designed to be one, and it has been noticed that this bond has only become stronger with the growth of education and the spread of enlightenment.

The archæological remains that exist in South Canara, though by no means very ancient, are profoundly interesting. Of Jain relics, there exist *betts*, or colossal statues of the "Great Gawd-Budd." Only three of these are known to exist in the world, two being in Canara, one in Mysore. The largest one is near Karakal in the former district. It is 41 feet 5 inches high and is said to weigh about 80 tons. Prominently situated on the top of a huge granite rock, on the margin of a picturesque lake, it appeals to one's fancy as fit emblem of a creed that was revered in India when the world was still young. Mr. Walhouse, a former Judge of Mangalore, writing of it in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1875, says:—"Nude; cut from a single mass of granite, darkened by the monsoons of centuries, the vast statue stands upright with arms hanging straight, but not awkwardly, down the sides, in a posture of somewhat stiff but simple dignity. The form and lineaments are evidently the same with those which, from Ceylon to China and utmost Tartary, have handed down with unvarying tradition the habit as he lived of that most wondrous of mortals that ever wore flesh, Gautama Buddha."

We who have travelled are irresistibly reminded of the Buddha with the merciful countenance who sits, facing the ocean, on an eminence in Kamakura, the Japanese town, not far from Yokohama; only there, the teacher is enrobed, while here in southern India he stands "sky-clad." Once every sixty years the scattered Jains gather at Karakal from all quarters and bathe the colossus with cocoanut oil.

Other Jain remains in South Canara are the *Bastis*, or temples, always most picturesquely located, and the beautiful *Stambhas*, or pillars, one of which, the most elegant, is about fifty feet high. It is of stately grace, and the carving is elegant, intricate and most delicately wrought.

Although Canarese is the official language of the district, Tulu, the vehicle of expression of the ancient Tuluva, is spoken by nearly half the population. It is in this language that the sacred books of the Havik Brahmins of the Northern Taluk of Kundapur are written, showing that the language was in vogue in the eighth century A. D., when the early Brahmin colonists arrived in the district. The Hindu population of South Canara forms to-day 81·68 per cent. of the whole; the Mussulmans, 10·60; the Christians 6·75 and the Jains 0·97.

Just as in the adjoining province of Malabar, the worship of Bhutas or demons prevails largely. The devil dance, the invocation of tutelary deities, serpent worship and other customs all

go to show the Dravidianism of the mass of the people. The Brahmins of the district are split into twelve sub-divisions, the fairest and comeliest of whom are the Haviks who are said to owe their colour to "their residing for many generations in the comparatively cool shade of the areca-nut gardens." Then, there are the Bunts, the warrior class of old, corresponding to the Nairs of Malabar. These Bunts are now the chief land-owning and cultivating class. They are a fine stalwart race, with a sturdy independence of manner, fond of outdoor sports, football and buffalo racing chiefly, but more than all else, cock-fighting. Numerous other castes and tribes go to make up the motley population of the district. The Koragars, or basket makers, were held in such contempt that till lately one sub-division of the tribe dared not spit on the ground, and wore a shell round the neck into which shell they had to spit. The women of another sub-division are still given to clothing themselves with the utmost sparsity in a raiment of leaves freshly gathered every morning for the purposes. The Billavas, or the toddy drawers of the district, have singular customs. Sexual license before marriage is permitted within the caste, provided the marriage ceremony afterwards is different from that which characterises the marriage of a virgin. The difference lies in the woman's having to be first married to a plantain tree, after which the ceremony of joining hands is carried out without the pouring of water. The Mogers, or Tulu fishermen, are also another interesting Hindu tribe, Vaishnavite by religion. Among them, if a man wishes to dissolve his marriage, he has only to go to the maternal uncle of his wife, tell him that he has divorced her, strike three blows on a tree, and pay him the modest sum of Rs. 1-4-0. The Native Christians of South Canara are a prosperous, independent community, though they have not yet quite shaken off the trammels of caste. The Jains of the district belong to the naked, or sky-clad, division. One of their customs is especially interesting. They always filter water carefully, in order not to destroy the *animalculæ* in it.

I have already shown that South Canara is a pastoral district. About 75 per cent. of its people derive a living from cultivation, rice being the staple produce. Cocoanut and areca-nut plantations, too, are plentiful. The wages of the farm hands are small, and average from 2 to 2½ annas a day; but no country owns such a prosperous peasantry as Canara, or shows such an air of pastoral comfort. The trade of the district is thriving and extensive, and, even in respect of manufactured industries, it is now coming into notice. In a few years, South Canara will be placed in railway communication with the rest of the Peninsula, and, when this takes place, the district will certainly come into the forefront of Madras provinces.

VISITOR.

ART. IV.—JOHN COMPANY'S PADRES AND THEIR PARISH.

THE Rev. H. B. Hyde has long been known in Calcutta as one of its most enthusiastic and hard-working antiquarians: and his close association with our oldest Parish Church has been the means of throwing a flood of light upon some of the most obscure passages in the early history of the English in India. His new volume, which he styles the "Parish of Bengal,"* is a veritable monument of industry and research, and we are more than ever reminded of the loss we have sustained by his departure for Madras. Under the guise of a chronicle of the ecclesiastical events which preceded the building of the present St. John's Church, we are afforded a series of animated sketches of Calcutta and Calcutta life during the century which opened in Europe with the Revolution of 1689, and closed with the taking of the Bastille just a hundred years later. The result is one of the most entertaining books of old-world gossip we have encountered since we reluctantly closed the delightful pages of Dr. Busteed.

To those who were privileged to listen to the admirable lectures delivered by Mr. Hyde a few months ago, there will be much that is familiar in the present compilation: but there is much also that is entirely new. That it will appeal to a wide circle of readers, we are confident, in spite of the proverbial indifference of Anglo-India to its past. For there are signs abroad that the Calcutta of to-day is repenting of its studied neglect and discourtesy towards the Calcutta of olden time. Like his forbears, the Englishman still betakes him to the East to make a fortune or to die of a fever: but he is no longer so absorbed in his profession and his pleasures as the case-hardened *gui-hye* of a bygone generation. The popularity of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* and of Sir William Hunter's memoir of the Thackerays tells its own tale: and the reproach can no longer be justly levelled against the Anglo-Indian, that he lives entirely in the present, and has never a thought to cast behind him. And yet, notwithstanding, we wonder how many there are who are able to give a meaning to Mr. Hyde's quaint title, or who are aware that for over a hundred years the entire Bengal Presidency formed one single parish. It was not, in fact, until the advent of Lord Cornwallis

* The Parish of Bengal: 1678 to 1788: by the Rev. H. B. Hyde, M. A., a Senior Chaplain on Her Majesty's Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co., 1899. Price, Rs. 4.

that in 1788 the Company's Chaplains were appointed to stations where their ministry was fixed: and the arrangement, which to us seems so cumbrous and inconvenient, was the obvious and only possible one at the time of its creation.

For our Empire in India was a very small affair indeed in 1667, when the London East India Company first resolved to provide their scattered settlements in Bengal with a Chaplain.* The head-quarters of the English merchants lay at Hooghly. Hard by at Chinsurah, and almost within a stone's throw, the Dutch were striving with them for the custom of the subjects of the Nabob. Still more formidable was the organized opposition of the "interlopers," who were making strenuous efforts to share in the large profits of the trade, and were presently to oust the London Company from its pride of place. Among these interlopers or private traders was a notable "young beginner" of the name of Thomas Pitt, "a fellow of a haughty, huffing daring temper," destined in after-years to be Governor of Fort St. George, to discover the finest diamond in the world, and to be the progenitor of two of England's greatest statesmen. Outside Hooghly, a few isolated factories at Dacca, Balasore, Cossimbazar, Patna and Rajmehal made up the sum total of the English possessions in Bengal. Where Calcutta now greets the world with her amazing medley of Western opulence and Eastern squalor, there stood three obscure villages; and twenty-three years had yet to elapse before Job Charnock was to establish himself at Suttanuttee, after a series of bewildering attempts to settle at such unsuitable spots as Hidgelee, Oolooberiah and even Chittagong. It was thus into a very modest cure of souls that the Court of Directors, after ten years' discussion and procrastination, inducted their first Chaplain on the 2nd November 1677. The man upon whom their choice fell was John Evans, of Jesus College, Oxford, who was to hold his office for fourteen years, and to adorn the Bishopric of Bangor for as many more.

He must have sailed for India within a month of his appointment, for his arrival at Hooghly, with his wife and sister-in-law and two children, is recorded on the 23rd June, 1679. His new parishioners appear, from all accounts, to have fallen far below the standard which the Company expected from its servants: and, in the September following the arrival of Evans, Streynsham

* In 1677, the following six Chaplaincies constituted the whole of the London Company's existing or projected ecclesiastical establishment—Surat, Fort St. George, Bantam, Bombay, St. Helena, and the Bay (by which collective name the settlements in Bengal were known): but no appointment had apparently been made up to that date to the factories of the Bay, and Mr. Hyde, in the course of his indefatigable researches, has been unable to light upon any such.

Master, the President of Fort St. George, was despatched to the Bay "to regulate and set in order what he should find amiss." The result of his visit was the promulgation of a number of disciplinary orders: and, as absence from public prayers constituted one of the offences for which penalties were ordained, it is to be hoped that, as a consequence, the little Factory Church, which the minister lost no time in building, rejoiced in a larger congregation than the stocks which were prescribed as the alternative to divine worship.

In October, 1681, there reached Hooghly William Hedges, the specially-appointed Agent and Governor of the London Company, to whose diary we are indebted for many interesting sidelights upon the Indian career of Evans. Matthias Vincent, the chief of the Factory, had fallen into disfavour with his masters on account of his "trafficking with interlopers" and his "diabolical acts with Braminees;" and Hedges' instructions were to seize him and send him forthwith as a prisoner to England. Vincent at once removed to safer quarters at Chinsurah, where he joined Pitt in trading on his own account: and Hedges started for Dacca in the vain hope of inducing the Nabob to order the expulsion of the interlopers. Evans accompanied him, and in a letter from Dacca which bears date the 5th December, 1682, he chronicles the deaths of his two children and of his sister-in-law, who had married John Byam, Chief of the Balasore Factory. His wife was apparently with him, for he observes that "she is grown exceeding Fatt:" and she lived to return with him to England and to survive him by nearly ten years. Christmas was spent with Job Charnock at Cossimbazar, and by the end of the year the party returned to Hooghly. We have also records of visits of Evans to Balasore, the first being as early as April 1679, and the second in the following year. But, in spite of the assiduity with which he devoted himself to his clerical duties, the Company could not forgive his friendship with such notorious interlopers as Littleton, the Pitts,* and Alley. Hedges reports that "Agent Beard, Mr. Evans, the minister, and Mr. Trrenchfeild were very often in company with the Interlopers, especially ye two latter who are seldom out of their company." And it must be confessed that Evans' object in such association was to make money.

Much invective has been hurled against this remarkable man

* He was named as guardian to the son of John Pitt in the latter's will. John Pitt, who was at the time of his death in 1706 "Consul-General of the English nation on the coast of Chormandell" and President of the new Company at Masulipatam, was cousin of the more famous Thomas Pitt. George Morton Pitt, the boy to whom Evans was guardian, was President of Fort St. George from 1730 to 1735, and a Member of Parliament, and died in 1756.

on the ground that he amassed a fortune by trading in unauthorized goods against the regulations of the Company. But let us for a moment consider the surroundings amid which he lived. His salary was fixed at fifty pounds a year, and he was to receive fifty pounds more as a gratuity, if he gave satisfaction to the Council of "the Bay." We may smile at the scale of remuneration which was then sufficient to attract an Englishman to the gorgeous East: but those were days when the salary of a factor ranged from £20 to £40 a year, and a writer was deemed to be passing rich on £10. It need hardly be said, however, that there were other methods of making a fortune open to them. They were permitted to add to their official incomes by private trading in those commodities which were not the monopoly of the Company, and were, moreover, privileged to draw considerable sums from the public treasury for diet-money, attendance, and the like. Still, at this point their perquisites ended: and the temptation to make yet a little more was irresistible. The Company fulminated in vain against such breaches of trust. Of all the crimes which a man could commit in those days, the two most heinous in the eyes of the Court of Directors were for a private merchant to trade in India in their articles of commerce without a license, and for a covenanted servant of theirs to aid and abet such flagitious proceedings. And yet there was not a servant of the Company who had not done, and did not do, the one or the other. Evans followed the example of those around him. He permitted himself to make friends among the English traders, who evaded the Company's monopoly by shipping from foreign ports, and was thus enabled to effect more than one successful investment. So successful, in fact, was he that he aroused the jealousy of the expiring London Company, and he was dismissed from their service by the Court's letter of the 22nd January, 1691-92. "Mr. Evans," they wrote, "having betaken himself so entirely to merchandizing, we are not willing to allow him any further salary or allowances after the arrival of our two ministers we are now sending you."

Meanwhile, he had been helping to make history. The years 1686 to 1690 were a stormy crisis in the fortunes of the Bengal factories. The hostility of the Nabob's Foujdari at Hooghly led to a sharp skirmish: and after a gallant defence, Job Charnock had been compelled to withdraw. "all your Right Honourable Company's concerns and our own." On his way down the river, he halted at Suttanutte (upon which ever then he had cast his eye) and negotiated in vain for peace. But the Nabob's troops came nearer and nearer; and, while Charnock was doing what he could to hinder their progress by demolishing all the forts within his reach, Captain Nichol

son was sent to take possession of the island of Hidgelee. Then followed the occupation of Hidgelee, and its siege by "Abdul Summud, the Nabob's buxy," the hasty retreat to Suttanuttee, the removal of the agency to Balasore, and finally the forcible transportation of the entire English settlement in Bengal to Madras by Captain Heath, whose six months' mad cruise around the Bay in search of a site to take the place of Hooghly reads more like a romance than like sober fact.

In all these perils and disasters the sturdy Welsh Chaplain and his wife bore their part: but they did not apparently return with Charnock to the Bay in July 1690, and were still at Fort St. George, when the Council received the news of the "trading parson's" dismissal. Evans seems to have been refused permission to leave the Presidency, and his departure in June 1693 was to all intents and purposes an escape from custody.* He made his way to Suttanuttee, where Francis Ellis had just succeeded the dead Charnock as chief of the Old Company. By him he was allowed to go on to Hooghly, in spite of the positive instructions received by him to detain the "buissy politick Padre" until the arrival of Sir John Goldsborough, the "Commissary Generall and Admirall of the East India Fleet" and "Chief Governor of the Right Honorable English East India Company's Affaires," who, like Hedges, had been sent out to crush the interlopers.* But the interlopers were now becoming too strong for the Old Company, and in 1698 were destined to supplant it altogether. They had for the present established themselves in the deserted factory at Hooghly, and were doing a thriving trade, thanks to Thomas Pitt, now member of Parliament for Old Sarum, who had reached Bengal in the October of 1693, and was judiciously employing his time in bribing the Nabob of Dacca. Evans did not remain long, however, in their society. He had spent fourteen years in India and was anxious to return to England. Goldsborough was only too glad to facilitate his departure, and in February 1694, he sailed from Suttanuttee on Captain Dorrill's ship the *Charles the Second*.

The subsequent career of "the quondam Minister, but late great Merchant," as the Court of Directors sarcastically call

* Goldsborough was actually knighted by William the Third on his departure from England in 1691-92: but it is worth noticing that the prefix of Sir is often erroneously applied to the names of early servants of the Company. As Sir William Hunter has pointed out in the introduction to his History of India (now alas! to remain unfinished), the factors in India habitually addressed each other in their letters as Signor, a practice derived from the Levant merchants who were the chief founders of the East India trade: and the contraction of Signor into Sir is more than sufficient to account for the error.

him in one of their letters, is full of interest. He took an active part in founding the two Societies familiarly known as the S. P. G. and the S. P. O. K., and in 1701 he was consecrated Bishop of Bangor. In 1716 he was translated to the see of Meath, and died in 1724, leaving the whole of his large fortune to Church purposes. There is an amusing reference to him in a letter written by Thomas Pitt to Sir E. Littleton in 1701. "I hear," says Pitt, "our old friend Doctor Evans is made Bishop of Bangor; alias Bengall, and 'tis said by your means. I am glad you are soe much in love with Bishoppes, that you contribute to the making of 'em, soe hope you 'le send him home a superfine peice of Muslin to make him sleeves." Hedges gives Evans a bad character, and the redoubtable Dean Swift violently quarrelled with him in his later years over his behaviour to a "poor curate." Even Sir Henry Yule speaks of him as a "questionable ecclesiastic" and a "merchandizing padre." But Hedges was not a disinterested party, and the author of *Gulliver* would have picked a quarrel with the veriest saint on earth. Mr. Hyde, to whom is due the first complete and connected account of the career of the pioneer Chaplain of the Bay, has formed a very different estimate of his character: and there seems no reason why John Evans of Jesus College, Oxford, and Bishop of Bangor, should not claim a place as of right among the worthies annually commemorated by the patriotic Welshmen of Calcutta on St. David's Day.

We have dwelt at length upon the connection of Evans with the "parish of Bengal," for the reason that it affords an excellent illustration of the thoroughness of Mr. Hyde's methods no less than of the value of his researches. Until the appearance of Mr. Hyde's admirable article upon the First Bengal Chaplain in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, there was little or nothing known of Evans or of his Indian life; and Mr. O. R. Wilson, in his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, acknowledges his indebtedness to him for nearly the whole of his information upon the subject. Mr. Hyde has been no less painstaking in his treatment of the lives of Evans' successors. But of many there is, unhappily, little to record beyond the date of their arrival, followed, after an interval of a few months, by that of their death. The name, however, of one of them, Joseph Paget, who died at Dacca in 1724 at the age of twenty-six, derives special interest from the fact that his tomb was visited by Heber exactly a century later.* During these frequent inter-

* The grave of Paget lies immediately in front of a curious octagonal Gothic tower, surmounted by a cupola, and containing three plain slabs. Heber was told by the old Durwan of the burial ground that the latter was

regnums, we are told that the factory surgeons were ordered to read the prayers, and that when on one occasion the duty was undertaken by a Member of Council, that dignitary provided himself with a suit of black clothes for the purpose—so brilliant, apparently, was the costume of the factor in the days of Queen Anne. The Calcutta of those days, according to that eighteenth century Sinbad, Captain Alexander Hamilton, was nothing if not broad-minded. "In Calcutta," he writes, "all Religions are freely tolerated but the Presbyterian, and that they browbeat. The Pagans carry their idols in Procession through the Town. The Roman Catholicks have their Church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not discountenanced: but there are no Polemics, except what are between our High Church Men and our Low, or between the Governor's Party and other private Merchants on Points of Trade." Hamilton could speak feelingly upon the latter subject, for he was himself a private merchant: and it was perhaps on that account that he found Calcutta so unnaturally inclined towards Scotchmen.

Among these forgotten padres of the early settlement, the figures stand out prominently of Benjamin Adams and William Anderson, the builders of the first Presidency Church, which stood upon the site now covered by the west end of Writers' Buildings. In 1709 it was completed and solemnly dedicated to St. Anne, out of compliment (no doubt) to the royal lady, whom, according to Pope, three realms obeyed, and who "sometimes counsel took—and sometimes tea." For half a century, the Church remained the place of worship of the Settlement. It lost its tapering spire in the furious cyclone of 1737, and in 1756 it shared in the general destruction of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, whom a recent Bengali historian has facetiously depicted as the mildest and most humane of men. Among his manifold labours on behalf of the Church he loves so well, Mr. Hyde has discovered the parish register of St. Anne's in duplicate at the India Office, and the whole of it has been transcribed and added to the records of St. John's.

Inseparably connected with the siege of Calcutta by "Sir Roger Dowler," as he is sometimes absurdly styled in the letters and papers of the period, are the names of Gervas Bellamy and Robert Mapletost, the then incumbents of the Chaplaincy. Bellamy, who was the senior, had been in India since 1726 and, after setting the climate at defiance for thirty years, met his

the tomb of "Columbo Sahib, Company-ka-nuokur." "Who he can have been," observes the Bishop, "I do not know: his name does not sound like an Englishman's, but, as there is no inscription, the Beadle's word is the only accessible authority." Mr. Julian Cotton suggests that the mausoleum may be that of Clerembault, a Dutch Chief of the Company's factory, who was married to a Mohamedan wife.

death amid the horrors of the Black Hole. When the morning dawned (Holwell tells us) the brave old man was found dead with his son, the Lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison. Equally gallant, and prevented by no fault of his own from sharing his colleague's fate, was Mapletoft, who did good work on the defences, and who perished from privation and exposure at Fulta, whither he had been carried against his will. Mr. Hyde dwells with pardonable pride upon these two doughty Christians, the prototypes of many a gallant padre in the ranks of our modern military chaplains. The story of the cowardly flight of Governor Drake and the Members of Council is an ignoble one. As Voltaire took occasion to say in his most biting words, the Quaker was of a very different stamp from the fighting Admiral who fell in Nombre de Dios Bay. But it is the first and only instance of its kind in the history of British India, and need not be recalled, except it be by way of contrast to the courage of those who remained behind to uphold the honour of the British name. To say, as Macaulay does, that "the Fort" was taken after a feeble resistance," is to cast an unmerited slur upon Holwell and the slender garrison of which he took command. As a matter of fact, the Fort was fiercely defended for some thirty hours, and the enemy's own list of killed and wounded entirely negatives the assertion.*

Foremost among the gallant band of Englishmen was John Buchanan, Captain in the Hon'ble Company's service, who held by the Fort when Minchin, the Commandant, deserted it; and who was the senior military officer to perish in the Black Hole. From a petition, dated the 9th of June, 1758, and filed in the Calcutta Mayor's Court by Warren Hastings "of Cossimbazar, gentleman," respecting the administration of the estate of his wife's late husband, Mr. Hyde has made the interesting discovery that Buchanan's widow, Mary, was none other than the first Mrs. Hastings, who died a year later at Cossimbazar, and whose tomb in the old Residency burying ground has been daubed with a brilliant blue by the Public Works Department.† Mr. Hyde is of opinion that she was in all probability the daughter of Colonel Carolus Frederick Scott, the predecessor of Minchin as Commandant of the Company's Forces. She must have been among the ladies who were sent on board the ships when the assault on the Fort became imminent: and it

* By the confession of Surajah Dowlah's own men, over 5,000 of their troops, together with "80 jemadars and officers of consequence," were killed in the attack upon the Fort from first to last.

† A similar indignity has (one is sorry to learn) been offered to the cenotaph of Sir Thomas Munro at Gooty in Southern India, the walls of which have been coloured a gaudy pink by some unæsthetic individual in authority.

s more than likely that Hastings, who made his way down the Ganges to Fulta after his escape from Moorshedabad; met her and, it may even be, married her in that dismal refuge. Mr. Hyde reminds us that this would not be the only marriage assignable to Fulta during the latter months of 1756: and, although there are no records of English marriages in Bengal between February 20, 1756, and the beginning of 1758, it is at least certain that the little band of fugitives had a clergyman in their midst, even after Mapletoft's death, in the person of Richard Cobbe, the Chaplain of Admiral Watson's flagship, the *Kent*, and the shipmate of "good doctor Ives," who made free use of his journals in the compilation of his curious contemporary narrative. But whether Hastings was married to his first wife at Fulta or not, it is to Mr. Hyde that the credit is due of establishing the identity of the lady. Hitherto she has always been erroneously described as the widow of Captain Dugald Campbell, an officer who was accidentally shot at the capture of Budge-Budge, during the operations preceding which the entry into Calcutta of the avenging army on the 2nd of January, 1757.

On the return of the English to the Settlement, Cobbe succeeded Bellamy and Mapletoft as incumbent of the "parish of Bengal," but there is reason to believe that he never officiated publicly in Calcutta, on account of the disabling nature of the wounds received by him at the taking of Chandernagore, the memorable engagement in which, as the inscription upon his tomb in St. John's Churchyard tells us, that gallant little midshipman Billy Speke "lost his leg and life." O those who immediately followed Cobbe in the Chaplaincy, we may single out Henry Butler and William Hirst. The former went up-country on field service with Clive and was with the army, probably in Behar, when the conqueror of Surajah Dowlah returned to England in January, 1760. He appears to have been a commercial speculator as well as a cleric. But fortune did not smile upon him as she had done upon John Evans. His estate, which was considerably involved, was administered by his friend and creditor, Warren Hastings; and we read that among his effects were not only a good library of theology, but ten wigs and two gowns (let us hope both Geneva ones), fifteen sheep, a horse, two bullocks, and a palankeen. Butler's fate would seem to have served as an awful warning to the cloth, for he is the only discoverable example (says Mr. Hyde) of a Bengal Chaplain of the last century who bought and sold goods for profit with his own hands.

No less remarkable, although in a different way, was William Hirst, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Chaplain from 1762

o 1764. Hirst was quite one of the most accomplished men who have ever belonged to the Clergy of Bengal, and many a page in the transactions of the Royal Society bears witness to his scientific knowledge and his literary attainments. He had visited Lisbon shortly after the earthquake of 1755, and made a careful study of the devastated city. While staying at Government House, Madras, in June 1761, he was able to observe a transit of Venus, of which he sent a minute description to the Society: and to him also posterity is indebted for accounts of the two violent earthquakes which convulsed Bengal in 1762. It fell to his lot to preach the sermon in commemoration of the 150 gallant Englishmen who were cruelly murdered at Patna by orders of Meer Cossim Ally in October, 1763, fighting desperately to the last with bottles and plates, in default of the knives and forks of which they had treacherously been deprived by their executioner, the infamous renegade Reinhardt. Among the victims was Henry Lushington of the Civil Service, who owed his escape from death in the Black Hole to the "refreshing draughts" he drew from Holwell's shirtsleeves. He had afterwards been Clive's Secretary, and in that capacity was the author of the *loll coggedge*, the famous duplicate treaty on red paper, at the foot of which Admiral Watson's name was forged by order of Clive, for the deception of Omichund.* The news of the massacre created a great sensation in Calcutta: and, in addition to the sermon, a fortnight's general mourning was ordered, and a day of universal fasting. Hirst resigned the Chaplaincy in 1764, and for five years continued his scientific work at home. The manner of his death is shrouded in mystery: for when, in 1769, the Bengal Commission of Superintendence was appointed, he was selected to accompany them, and neither he, nor they, nor their ship were heard of again.

In the time of Hirst the place of St. Anne's had been taken by a Chapel built on the south of the eastern gateway of the old Fort and abutting on the Black Hole. For three years after the recovery of Calcutta, Protestant Calcutta had worshipped in the Portuguese Church at Moorghihatta: but the construction of the new Fort William afforded a site, and the Chapel was not only constructed, but dedicated, during the six months of Holwell's Presidentship. It remained the

* When Watson was told of the forgery on his death bed, he is said to have replied that, as there was so much iniquity among mankind, he did not wish to remain any longer among them. For an admirable account for the Patna massacre, Mr. Beveridge's article in the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1884, should be read. Reinhardt, better known by the nickname *Lombre* given to him on account of his swarthy complexion, was, of course, the husband of the famous Begum Sumroo, who was so anxious for Heber to visit her at Sirdhana in 1824.

Presidency Church for twenty-seven years, and was the fore-runner of the present edifice. On Hirst's resignation a clergyman of the name of Parry obtained the Chaplaincy, and was incontinently dismissed, in a manner which reminds us of George the Third and the Royal Marriage Act, for solemnizing the marriage of a Member of Council without the permission of the President, who was then Lord Clive. He was restored after two years' suspension, during which he not only performed his clerical functions, but consoled himself with taking shares in the much criticised salt, betel and tobacco monopoly, sanctioned by Clive. If we are to believe the somewhat jaundiced *Considerations* of Mr. William Bolts, Parry's two-thirds share brought him in no less than £2,800 the first year, and £2,200 the second. But his enjoyment of his fortune was destined to be very brief. He lived just long enough to consecrate the Park Street South Cemetery, which took the place, in 1768, of the present St. John's Churchyard, the original burying-ground of the Factory, where to this day Charnock sleeps undisturbed amid the dust and din and steam of the town he called into existence.

The Calcutta of those days was by all accounts an uncomfortable place of residence. A lady, Mrs. Kindersley, who lived in it in 1768, describes it as being "as awkward a place as can be conceived," with mansions and hovels, warehouses and gardens jostling one another, and huddled together in inextricable confusion. So unhealthy was the climate that people met together at the end of the rains and congratulated one another on having survived another season; and sailors, by an odd distortion of the name of the old factory-house at Hooghly, spoke contemptuously of Charnock's city as another Golgotha.* And yet there was still living, in her house near the Bankshall, Mrs. Carey, the one woman who had survived the Black Hole, and who could well remember how, before the fateful siege, Calcutta had been a fenced city, and how stockades had been hurriedly erected in the Mahratta scare of 1742.† The name of her husband was to be found

* Herron in starting his sailing directions for taking a ship down from Hooghly to the sea, speaks of Gull Gat. This was the site of the old English Factory, Gholghat, a name still preserved in the "Gholghat Dispensary" at Hooghly. It was probably (says Sir Henry Yule) some confusion between the English establishments at Gholghat and at Calcutta which led to the extraordinary forms which we find Frenchmen giving to the latter name, e.g., Golgonthe (Luillier, 1705). Sonnerat (1782) though he writes the name Calcuta, improves upon this by saying the English both write and pronounce it Golgota. Such grotesque perversions were only too common; but perhaps the palm may be given to "Jno. Gernaete," which appears in an MS. of 1680 as a substitute for Juggernaut.

† The precaution was no idle one. In 1748, the main body of Mahrattas was as near as Burdwan, and they plundered the Cossimbazar boats. The

upon Holwell's monument to his fellow-sufferers, which immediately faced the main gate of the old Fort, and stood as near as possible to the ravelin where the bodies of the victims were flung into a common grave.*

In those early days, the Governor's house and gardens lay hard by the Fort, and the grounds extended from the river bank right up to the Lal Bagh with its splendid tank, which we have disguised to-day under the name of Dalhousie Square, and which was the rendezvous and recreation-ground of the Settlement. Northward, through what is now Olive Street, ran the road to Perrin's Garden, where it had once been the height of gentility for the covenanted servants of the Company to take their wives for an evening stroll or a moonlight fête. But Perrin's had dropped out of favour so early as 1752; and Bellamy lived to see Buchanan's powder-factory established in its shady walks, and the patronage of the beauty and fashion of Calcutta transferred to Surman's Garden in Cooily Bazar, nowadays re-christened by the more euphonious name of Hastings. East of the Circular Road, which commemorates the Mahratta Ditch, was Halsi Bagan, the garden house of Omichund, where Holwell and his three companions were brought in June, 1756, the day after the terrible scene in the Black Hole, and left all night in a three-foot tent exposed to torrents of tropical rain. On the western side of Tank Square, where now the Post-office and the Custom-house meet the eye, towered the old Fort, in which were lodged the factors and writers, as well as the two hundred soldiers of the garrison, whose chief business it was to guard the Company's boats of merchandise, as they travelled slowly down the river from Dacca and Cossimbazar and Patna. St. Anne's Church had stood to the west of what is now Writers' Buildings, but which were then undreamt of. The principal houses clustered north of the Church and the Lal Diggee. Adjoining the graveyard was the Company's powder-magazine, and the hospital, which Alexander Hamilton wrote that "many go in to undergo the Penance of Physic, but few came out to give an account of its Operation." Around the two hundred and twenty acre of Christian Calcutta there ran a row of palisades. They were

same year they were at Balasore, which they subsequently captured in 1760, and in 1761, they besieged Midnapore for no less than fourteen days, reducing the inhabitants to the verge of starvation. It was not until 1803 that Lord Wellesley finally drove the Mahratta hordes out of Orissa.

* The obelisk, which was a familiar object in Calcutta for over sixty years, was removed in 1821, and its place is now usurped by Sir Aschley Eden's statue. So thoroughly was the work of demolition effected that no trace even has been found of the tablets with which Holwell adorned it. Tradition connects this act of vandalism with the then Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, but Dr. Busteed has shown that there is little, if any, corroboration in contemporary writings to support the story.

continued along the river face, and the edge of the creek whose entrance stretched from Koyla Ghaut to what is now Hastings Street and whose course is still perpetuated by the name of Creek Row. It was on the banks of this creek, on the spot now occupied by the Scotch Church, that the southern battery was thrown up in 1757: and so paltry was the extent of the early settlement that the two remaining batteries of any importance were situated, the one on the river bank at the foot of the modern Clive Ghaut Street, and the other where Hastings Street, Council House Street and Government Place now meet.

The old burying-ground itself lay on the south, and there was a gated bridge opening from it across the creek at the south-east corner of the present St. John's Church, and another at the opposite corner leading to the gun-powder magazine. Here there was the third redoubt, of which we have just made mention. The creek took a half turn around it, and crept westwards, the palisades running parallel with it across Wellesley Place and Ranees Moodee Gully. Thence they took a northerly course, along Mission Row and Mangoe Lane to Lall Bazar, when there were even then crossroads and a cutchery. The entrance to the bailey, which ran around the whole town within the palisades, was Fancy Lane, which Mr. Hyde takes to be the site of the old gallows-tree, from the resemblance of its name to the native word *phansi*. * The northernmost limit of the town was Rajah Woodmunt's Street: and the palisades included within their ambit the edge of Old China Bazar, and the Portuguese and Armenian Churches. Every road issuing from the town was secured by a gate, and at the river-end of each was a gated ghaut.

But there was now no longer any fear of an invasion of the "Morattoes:" and the Ditch was acquiring far more enduring fame as an object of offence than it had ever done as one of defence. Although the maidan, where the Cathedral now stands, was still a forest, infested with dacoits and wild elephants, building was going on within the precincts of the settlement with great rapidity, and the number of English residents was yearly multiplying. Chowringhee was not yet the street of palaces which it now is, and the inhabitants still lived in what is to-day the business quarter of Calcutta; but the more wealthy had garden-houses beyond Tolly's Nullah and in the north of the town. The Collector's House at Alipore,

* The suggestion of the bailey has, not, we believe, been before made. Mr. Hyde has, however, by the aid of a plan or map which he has discovered in the British Museum, made its existence quite clear, and there can be no doubt, we think, of the correctness of his surmise.

which was later on to be the infant home of Thackeray*, was the country lodge of Sir Philip Francis, where the author of Junius and his boon-companions strove to conquer the unconquerable mental and physical stagnation of Indian exile with cards and wine. Hastings received his guests at Belvedere and came into Calcutta for the purposes only of business. His private office and the Council Chamber were in Esplanade Row, almost facing the Government House of his successors: and his initials were to be found, until recently, scratched upon a pane of glass in one of the windows of the corner-house.†

The beautiful Mrs. Imhoff, or "Baroness Imhoff," as she is usually styled, who became the Governor-General's second wife, is said to have held her *salon* in Hastings Street. Old Court House Street recalls memories of the Old Court House, which stood at its northern extremity on the spot where the steeple cock of St. Andrew's Kirk crows triumphantly over the Bishop of Calcutta. Behind it, in the north-western corner of Lyon's Range, was the old Theatre. Mr. Justice Hyde, the chronicler of Nuncomar's trial, and the hero of the "siccās, siccās, brother Impey," story, occupied a house on the site of the present Town Hall: and Sir Elijah's villa *inter paludes* is the Loretto Convent in the Middleton Row of to-day. The name of Park Street testifies to the spacious compound which surrounded the Chief Justice's mansion: but the thoroughfare was once known as Burial-ground Road, from the fact that it led to the cemetery which Parry had consecrated, and in which he himself reposes. It was long the custom for way-farers to form themselves into large parties before braving its unseen terrors: but the change of appellation has, happily, calmed all such fears of the supernatural. Lall Bazar was the fashionable resort of the day. At the angle which it makes with Bow Bazar was the Boytaconnah, the historic tree under whose spreading branches Job Charnock made up his mind to found his city of Calcutta. The modern Police-office was once the palace of John Palmer, the son of Hastings' Secretary, and King among merchant-princes. Opposite was the old jail in which Hickey and Nuncomar were confined. At the cross

* The novelist was actually born, on July 18, 1811, in the house in Free School Street which is now the Armenian College; but five months later his father was appointed Collector of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs, and it was at Alipore he lived until, on the 13th September 1815, Richmond Thackeray was borne to his last resting place in the North Park-street burying-ground.

† In Colonel Wood's Map of 1784, the Council House is shown at a different spot, i.e. at the north-eastern corner of Council House Street, where the Accountant-General's Office now stands. But local tradition places an earlier Council Chamber at the spot indicated in the text.

roads stood the place of public execution, and on the same gruesome site a pillory was set up, one of whose involuntary occupants was said to have been alive as lately as 1852. Next door was the Harmonic Tavern, whose renown still rings through the dim vista of years as the scene of all the gaiety and revelry in old Calcutta. On the river bank, now no longer palisaded, there was hardly a ghaut which was not rapidly growing rich with historical associations. Chiefest among them was Chandpal Ghaut. For it was here that Francis and his fellow-councillors landed in 1774 after having spent five weary days in the journey from Kedgerree. Here, too, it was that Impey and the first judges of the Supreme Court set foot in India. And it was here also that the famous Chief Justice, as he contemplated the bare legs and feet of the multitude who crowded round to witness his arrival, cried aloud, in an outburst of misplaced humanity, "See, brother, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was surely not established before it was needed. I trust that it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see all these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings."

Amid these signs of growing importance and prosperity, the need for a more commodious Parish Church began to be felt: and the lady, to whose letters we have already referred, complains that the "only apology" for a place of worship in the town was "some rooms" in the old Fort. There was no lack of vivacity, however, in the audiences who attended to listen to the twenty-sixthlies and twenty-seventhlies of the preacher. We learn from the sprightly young lady who wrote under the name of Sophia Goldbourne, that at Church "ancient sanction" allowed any gentleman without introduction to meet any lady at the entrance as she stepped from her palan-keen, and, taking her hand, to lead her to her seat. The gallants who availed themselves of this antique usage, were mostly "old fellows," who chiefly made a point of "repairing to the holy dome" on the Sundays after the arrival of Europe ships, and not seldom a choice for life had thus been made, the new importations "becoming brides in the utmost possible splendour," having "their rank instantaneously established and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them." We have no doubt that they squabbled over precedence in much the same way as the Factor's wife and the Surgeon's wife in 1706, who became deadly enemies because the latter was so rude and so persistent as to "squat herself down," Sunday after Sunday, in the chair which the former lady should have graced. Matters, indeed, went so far in this particular case that Mr. Arthur King, the indignant Factor, formally complained to the Council and

laid upon them all responsibility for "any disturbance or unseemly conduct that may arise in consequence." Mr. Hyde says he would like to know—and so, we confess, would we—whether Mrs. Factor ever did go so far as to snatch Mrs. Surgeon's bonnet from off her aggravating head: but the muse of history, in her usual provoking way, refuses to enlighten us on the point.

In 1770, the year after the death of Parry, there arrived in Calcutta, as Chaplain, William Johnson. Fate has ordained that his fame should survive as the fourth and last husband of the much-married "Begum Johnson," who had not only been wife of a member of Council in the days of Colonel Clive and the Black Hole, but could also boast of being the grand-mother of an English Prime Minister, and who lived to see John Company dictating terms to Holkar and Scindia and the very Mahrattas whose onslaught upon Calcutta she had once so much dreaded.* Mr. Hyde reminds us, however, that Johnson has other claims to our recollection: for it is to his energy that we owe the present Church of St. John's. In 1776 he petitioned the Council to provide a permanent building in lieu of the makeshift in the disused Fort: and the matter was referred home to the Court of Directors. There the matter was shelved for seven years: and it was not until 1782 that the project finally took shape. All memory of St. Anne's had vanished; and Writers' Buildings had been erected, without opposition from the Chaplain, upon the spot upon which it had once stood. No thought was entertained of building upon the old site, and the ground upon which St. John's now stands was still occupied by the old gunpowder magazine yard. But its appropriateness was undeniable, for it immediately adjoined the old burying-ground of the days of Gervas Bellamy, where lay the bones not only of Job Charnock, *conditor urbis*, "always a faithful man to his Company" (as his

* Mr. Hyde will forgive us for pointing out that he is in error in describing Johnson as the Begum's fifth husband. She had been previously married, as the inscription on her tomb in St. John's Churchyard tells us, firstly in 1738, at the age of 13, to Parry Purple Templer, nephew of Thomas Braddyll, then President at Calcutta: secondly, some five years later, to James Altham, of the Civil Service, who died a few days after the marriage: and thirdly, after a widowhood of two years, to William Watts, who had been senior Member of Council and Chief of Moorsheadabad at the time of the taking of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah. Amelia, her eldest daughter by Mr. Watts, married Charles Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool, and was the mother of the Prime Minister. The Begum herself married Johnson in 1774, and survived until 1812, when she died at the age of 87 "the oldest British resident in Bengal, universally beloved, respected and revered." She refused to accompany her husband to England in 1788, and he had to console himself as best he could with the three and a half lakhs of rupees he carried away with him by way of a competence. The Begum's house was in Clive Street, where the Bonded Warehouse and Commercial Buildings now stand, and where Governor Cruttenden had lived in the days before the siege.

masters gratefully described him after his death) but of Admiral Watson and of a host of unremembered worthies of olden time, such as Ralph Sheldon, the first Collector of Calcutta in the days of good Queen Anne, "no unworthy scion of the great house of Sheldon," as the Latin inscription upon his tomb proclaims him.* Hastings himself took the greatest interest in the progress of the scheme. The land had been sold by the Company some seven or eight years previously, and it was at the suggestion of the Governor-General himself, that the land was generously handed over by the proprietor, Maharajah Nubkissen, the ancestor of the Sobhabazar family, whose patronymic, we may add, is Deb and not Dey, as misprinted on page 81 of Mr. Hyde's book.

There still remained the money to collect; and Mr. Hyde gives an amusing account of the lottery which was started to enlarge the building Fund, and which was for five months the rage of the settlement. The arrangements were on an ambitious scale. Three thousand tickets were offered for sale at ten gold mohurs a piece: and, as a reward to the venturesome, three hundred and thirty-five prizes were announced, varying in amount from one lakh to five hundred *sicca* rupees. In addition, the holder of the first ticket drawn out of the wheel of fortune was to receive ten thousand rupees, and the lucky possessor of the last, twenty thousand. The local poets burst incontinently into song upon so inviting a subject; and when, on Friday, August 6, 1784, the drawing commenced at the Old Court House, excitement was intense.

"Here you might see in brilliant rows
 Beauties balloon'd and powder'd beaus,
 Such anxious fidgets—'How d'ye feel?'
 'Law, Sir, my ticket's in the wheel!'
 'I hope, dear ma'am, 'twill be a prize;—'
 'I hope so too,' dear ma'am replies."

Behind these "anxious fidgets" waved the great palm-leaf fans, fringed and brilliantly painted: and the wheels were placed in the centre upon a well-raised platform. Mr. Hyde does not tell us who carried off the lakh of *sicca* rupees, but the first ticket drawn, which brought ten thousand rupees to its owner, was curiously enough, a blank. The drawings continued for ten days, and the excitement grew greater and greater, as the chief prizes were not won until quite the end. When the

* Two Chief Justices of Bengal, Sir Robert Henry Blosset (1823) and Sir Christopher Püller (1824) are also interred within its precincts, side by side with Sir Benjamin Malkin, Judge of the Supreme Court (1837) and Bishop Turner (1831). It is a melancholy commentary on the short lived character of an Indian reputation that Malkin and Püller are better known as part authors of musty law reports and Blosset as the uncle of George Grote, than as occupants of the Calcutta Bench.

accounts were finally adjusted, it was discovered that no less than Rs. 36,800 Company's rupees had been realized for the Fund.

On the preceding 6th of April, the foundation stone was solemnly laid by Mr. Edward Wheler, the senior Member of Council, in the absence of the Governor-General who was up-country. While preparing the foundations for the steeple, or western porch, the gravestone was discovered of William Hamilton, the famous surgeon who had accompanied Surman and Stephenson in their embassy to Delhi in 1715, and whose cure of Ferrukseer, the present king of Indostan, of a malignant distemper* obtained for the English a permanent footing in Bengal. It was suggested by Hastings that it should be placed in the centre niche of the entrance at the east end of the Church; but for some reason or other, this was not carried out, and the stone has found a resting place in the Charnock Mausoleum, where it may still be seen by those who love to muse upon the beginnings of the English in India. Finally, on the 24th of June 1787, "a very numerous and respectable company of ladies and gentlemen assembled" to witness the consecration. At their head was Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, and one wonders if his mind carried him back to the days when the Governor and Council and the civil and military servants of the Company marched in solemn Sunday procession to the little factory Church at Hooghly, and when umbrellas of state were solemnly reserved for the members of Council and his reverence the Chaplain.*

And here we must regretfully take our leave of Mr. Hyde's fascinating pages. To all those who desire to know more of the Calcutta of periwigs and patches, of hookah-burders and torch-bearers, of Holwell and Francis, we heartily recommend the "Parish of Bengal." And who is there in these days of deplorable bustle and racket and matter of fact, that can resist the temptation of a sentimental journey into this land of dreams, in which Englishmen lived in state, and fortunes were still to be made by shaking the pagoda-tree? The illustrations with which the book is adorned are an all powerful lure in themselves. Mr. Hyde has freely placed at our disposal the many treasures with which he has adorned the walls of the vestry-room at St. John's. Side by side with

* "1676, 16th August—"There being an ill custom in the ffactory of writers having roundells carried over their heads ... it is therefore ordered that noe person in this ffactory shall have a roundell carried over them; but such as are of the Councell and the Chaplaine"—Diary of Streynsham Master, Governor of Fort St. George, quoted by Sir Henry Yule in his notes to Hedges' Diary. But although the Chaplain in those days was allowed a roundell or umbrella, he was denied a palankeen, which was strictly reserved for the Chief and the Second of Council.

the portraits of John Evans and Mapletoft, are those of Charles Weston, the friend and patron of Holwell, and Sealy, the ancestor of a Viceroy in the person of Lord Northbrook. In a succession of pictures drawn from every conceivable source, we trace the development of Calcutta and its Parish Church, from the days of Holwell and the palisades up to the times of our great-grand-father the Director. We are privileged to see in the original register the entry made by Chaplain Johnson of the marriage of "Miss Varlé of Chandernagore and Mr. Francis Grand, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service," and immediately below, by the strangest of coincidences the record of the union of Warren Hastings and his "dearest Marian," the beautiful Mrs. Imhoff.* Upon another page we can acquaint ourselves, from the neat scholarly writing of Sir William Jones himself, with the reasons why he and his brother-judges of the Supreme Court declined to subscribe to the fund for the building of St. John's: and upon yet another we may read, in Hastings' own words, his modest acceptance of the compliment paid to him by inscribing his name on the first stone of the new Church. The mausoleum of Charnock is not forgotten, nor the famous altarpiece of Zoffany, the "Last Supper," in which the artist has immortalized his friends (and enemies) in Calcutta.

Amid such an *embarras de richesses* it is perhaps ungracious on our part to ask for more. But there are two other entries in the marriage registers of St. John's of which we should have been glad to secure a glimpse—the entries which record the marriages of William Makepeace Thackeray's parents and grand-parents.† Nor can we help wishing that Mr. Hyde had been able to see his way to reproducing the map of Calcutta in 1742, which he mentions on page 43 as preserved in the British Museum, and a page or two of the registers of St. Anne's. And yet we have really no right to make such a demand, for we have rarely, if ever, seen so interesting or so unique* a collection of illustrations, as they stand. The pity is that Mr. Hyde has not been able to instil something of

* Madame Grand was married at Hooghly on July 10, 1777. The date of Hastings' marriage is almost exactly one month later—August 8.

† "Sylhet" Thackeray, who bore the same Christian names as his grandson, and who came out in India in 1766 in the same ship as Madame Grand's future husband, was married in St. John's Church, on the 31st January, 1776, to Miss Amelia Richmond Webb, a descendant of the General Webb, of Wynendael fame, who is immortalized in *Esmond*. Their second son, Richmond, was the novelist's father, and was married in his turn, on the 13th October 1810, to the daughter of John Harman Becher, whose kinsman Richard Becher had shared with his wife the agonies of the flight to Fulta, and was the colleague in Council of Clive and Holwell in the happier days which followed it.

his reverence and affection for the past into those who have disfigured the first Mrs. Hastings' tomb at Berhampore, have allowed Holwell's monument to his fellow-sufferers in the Black Hole to fall into ruin,* and have not scrupled to erect an unsightly red brick building in the midst of the historic compound of St. John's. This last act of vandalism must have gone to the heart of Mr. Hyde. We can almost fancy that his regret at departure from his beloved parish was not altogether untinged with relief at escape from residence in a parsonage the garish inelegance of which must jar upon the nerves of every man of sentiment and taste. For there are few pastors of whom it can be so truly said, as of Mr. Hyde, that his Church has been to him almost as a daughter: and it would have been difficult to devise a more touching or more appropriate parting tribute than the one he has chosen to offer her. We shall look forward with renewed interest to the larger volume of "Church Annals of Bengal" which we understand he is actively preparing.

H. E. A. COTTON.

* It has been reserved for Lord Curzon to repair in some measure for the grievous wrong done to these forgotten heroes; and we record with pleasure the fact that His Excellency has ordered the placing of a marble tablet with a suitable inscription upon the spot where they met their tragic death. But we hope that this is only the beginning of a series of similar acts. "Let us praise famous men," runs the text so familiar as University and College commemorations. There are none worthier of remembrance than the stout-hearted souls who lived and died at their work of making Calcutta: yet where are the streets which honour the memory of Charnock and Watson and Holwell and Sheldon?

ART. V.—HINDU SOCIETY IN THE RATIONALISTIC AGE.

(B. C. 1000 to B. C. 260).

(*Independent Section.*)

SOME information about the manners and customs of the Hindus during the Rationalistic Age is to be gathered from the accounts of Greek travellers in India.

Megasthenes, in describing the Hindus, says :—

"They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine, except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor extracted from rice, instead of barley; and their food is principally a rice potage. The simplicity of their laws and contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess sober sense. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem."

The religious and domestic ceremonies performed by the Hindus underwent further expansion during this period. It is unnecessary, for the most part, to give any detailed account of these ceremonies, as the bulk of them have fallen into desuetude, and so have little interest for modern Hindus. We confine ourselves to two important survivals of them, *viz.*, the *Sradha* and the *Durga Poojah*. *Sradha*, as its name implies, is an act of veneration to one's departed relations. It is natural for mankind to commemorate the memory of their deceased kinsmen by some token or periodic celebration. Some people put on mourning; some erect tombs, temples or churches; some establish charitable institutions, and the Hindus, over and above monumental endowments and charitable works, perform *Sradhas*, or periodical celebrations, in honour of their departed forefathers and other relations.

All Hindu ceremonies possess an inner or spiritual import. Taken in their outward aspect, and from an economic point of view, they may appear to be ugly, superstitious and extravagant acts. But when the inspiring motive, the rationale, and the poetry of the thing are understood, they excite our admiration rather than contempt. When the Hindu offers cakes and libations of water to his departed forefathers, it is not to be supposed that he superstitiously

believes that the deceased is able actually to partake of them. Similar is the case when he offers certain choice things to the gods. The offer in both cases is a sort of dedication, as when we dedicate a book to some respectable and learned person. The Hindu is enjoined to take *prosad*, or the remnant of the food partaken of by his *guru*, or spiritual leader, or parents. He considers it an act of disrespect and selfishness to take his meals without a thought or care to see that they have been first satisfied. This deferential act towards the living is also done towards the deceased, in order to show that death has not altered, in the least, the son's respect for his parents, and that he would still take their *prosad*; that he cannot rest satisfied without associating the good things he enjoys with the memory of those to whom he owes his existence and welfare. The thought of even imaginary ingratitude, or what may appear to be the semblance of ingratitude, is unbearable to a true Hindu.

The Durga Poojah is the grandest annual religious festival of the Hindus. It lasts three days in Ashvin or Kartick; the *bhashan*, or the ceremony of immersion of the image in water, taking place on the fourth day, when, for a few days following, friends and acquaintances, happening to meet together, generally embrace one another. The Courts and other offices being closed, the people make a very merry time of it. They dress themselves in their best, holding a sort of *conversazione*. The poor are relieved and fed, and the rich entertained with sumptuous banquets, *jatras*, or musical performances, and various other sorts of diversions. The Poojah, which is considerably on the decline owing to the spread of English education, may be undesirable on grounds of economy, but its usefulness in creating a strong and sacred bond of national unity cannot be over-estimated. There cannot be a Hindu family without its religion: religion being closely interwoven with social customs and manners. What is really worshipped is not the image in mud sculpture, but the attributes of the Deity, conceived through the medium of the image. And this periodical public acknowledgment of the Creator by the Hindus appears to contrast favourably with the absorbing secularism and gross materialism of Western civilisation. This happy blending and association of pleasure with religious and charitable acts, is perhaps peculiar to the Indian system alone. The friendly embrace on the Bejoja and succeeding days is a great factor of social unity; even enemies forget their old quarrels and are reconciled to one another, if they happen to meet on such days, when they cannot avoid this ceremony of courtesy. Taking place shortly after, and being associated with, the grand Poojah, it works as a charm in healing old sores and confirming friendships.

This age witnessed the birth of Buddhism, which is not essentially different from Hinduism, but rather a rationalistic view of it. Its founder was Gautama Buddha, who proclaimed it in the year 522 B.C. Self-culture is the corner-stone of this doctrine; Self-culture, leading to purity of heart and equanimity of mind, is what develops humanity best. Buddha rejected the Vedic rites and ceremonies as worthless. He denounced penances and religious austerities, on the one hand, and vicious self-indulgence on the other. He was for a golden mean between these extremes. His religion was essentially a religion of equality and love. He repudiated caste-distinctions and was an advocate of universal brotherhood. His mission was to promote equality, fraternity, and piety. The ethical value of Buddhism is very great. "It breathes a spirit of benevolence and of forgiveness, of charity, and love." The following extracts from the Dhammapada, a collection of the moral precepts of Buddha, will give some idea of his teachings:—

"Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love.

Let one overcome anger by love. Let him overcome evil by good. Let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth, and so on."

Buddha's doctrine of Nirvana presents a difficult problem, requiring a careful solution. Does it inculcate utter annihilation of the soul? Such a hypothesis would involve a moral absurdity. It would be inconsistent with the goodness and justice of God, who rewards the virtuous and punishes the vicious. We see that virtue often suffers and vice prospers. If the termination of our physical existence puts an end to our spiritual existence, and if there is no future life in which such apparently unjust disparities of condition are to be adjusted, how can they be otherwise reconciled? Moreover, how can the capacity of the human soul for infinite perfection be fully developed if its existence is limited to the short span of life allotted to us here? "How can we," asks Addison, "find that wisdom that shines through all God's works in the formation of man, without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next, and believing that the several generations of rational creatures, which rise up and disappear in such quick succession, are only to receive the rudiments of existence here, and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate where they may spread and flourish to all eternity?"

According to the Geeta the soul is imperishable.

The soul cannot be pierced by weapons, burned by fire, dissolved by water, or dried up by air.

Chap. II, v. 23.

Nirvana, then, does not mean the utter annihilation of the

soul. It would be an insult to the understanding of the great religious reformer, Buddha, to attribute such a meaning to him. What he meant by the term was the absorption of the soul in God, the Eternal Soul from which it emanated. In other words a state of perfect freedom from sin, the highest development of humanity, amounting to Godhead.

As remarked by Dr. Hunter, "life, according to Buddha, must always be more or less painful, and the object of every good man is to get rid of the evils of existence by merging his individual soul into the universal soul. This is Nirvana, literally 'cessation.'"

In the Gospel of Buddha, by Dr. Paul Carus, which is a compilation of the translations of the Buddhist Scriptures by prominent scholars and acknowledged authorities, Nirvana is explained as meaning "the peace of God that passeth all understanding."

About 256 B. C., Asoka, the King of Magadha, or Behar, became a zealous convert to Buddhism. He did for Buddhism what the Emperor Constantine did for Christianity,—made it a State religion. This he accomplished by five means :—

- (1) By a Council to settle the faith ;
- (2) By Edicts setting forth its principles ;
- (3) By a State Department to watch over its purity ;
- (4) By Missionaries to spread its doctrines ;
- (5) By an Authoritative Revision or Canon of the Buddhist Scriptures.

The law of *Karma* was brought into prominence by Buddha, who preached that our salvation depended, not upon the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, but upon our Karma, or conduct. He thus brought spiritual deliverance to the people by doing away with sacrifices, and with the priestly claims of the sacerdotal class as mediators between God and man.

HINDU SOCIETY IN THE BUDDHIST AGE (B. C. 260 TO A. D. 500).

A glimpse of the social life of the Hindus during this age can be obtained from the accounts of Chinese travellers to India.

Fa Hian, who came to India about A. D. 400, thus speaks of the people of Northern India :

"The people are well off, without poll tax or official restrictions ; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of the profit of the land. The Kings govern without corporal punishment. Criminals are fined lightly, or heavily, according to circumstances. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they

only cut off the right hand. Throughout the country the people kill no living creature, nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of *Chandals* only."

Our attention should be drawn to that part of the account where the traveller observes that throughout the country the people kill no living creature, nor drink wine. It indicates a high order of civilisation which even Western culture has failed completely to attain. Even the degenerated Hindus of the present day are peculiarly noted for sobriety and scrupulous regard for animal life. Such happy results are due to the teachings of Buddha and the catholicity of the Hindu religion. Cruelty in all its forms has always been declaimed against by moralists, especially by the Aryan Hindus.

From the same source we learn that the Hindus of this period were honest and upright. They were faithful to their oaths and promises; being without craftiness or deceit. They dreaded the retribution of a future life, and made light of the things of the present world.

The Hindus lost their empire in India mainly on account of this disposition, of making light of the things of the present world. The principal duty of the Hindu kings was to please their subjects and consult their real interests. They were looked up to as the natural rulers and leaders of mankind, and their authority was supported more by moral and spiritual, than by physical, force. Their easy subjugation by plundering and marauding barbarians was not due to the discontent of their subjects, or to want of social amalgamation, or national unity, but to their apathy and indifference to material prosperity and self-aggrandisement, their hearts being more bent upon securing a place in heaven, than consolidating an empire on earth.

The administration of the country was, we state on the authority of Houen Tsang, conducted on benign principles, the charge of maintaining the administration, preparing religious sacrifices, rewarding merit and patronising learning, and of affording charitable relief, being all met by assignment of lands of the State. Those who cultivated the royal estates paid one-sixth part of the produce as tribute. The taxes of the people were light, and the personal service required of them was moderate.

This appears to have been a more extensive system of feudal tenure than that which prevailed in medieval Europe. It was calculated to afford great encouragement to agriculture. Ample provision was made for rewarding men of distinguished ability; charity and religion were fostered. Above all, the people were allowed a considerable latitude of self-government. They were happy and prosperous, as the incidence of taxa-

tion and the State demand for a share of the produce of the Crown lands were light.

"The union of the village communities," says Mr. Elphinstone, "each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause, to the preservation of the people through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

The accounts of India given by Chinese travellers are in perfect accord with those of Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador at the Court of Chundra Gupta. He observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women, and the courage of the men. In valour they excelled all other Asiatics; they required no locks to their doors; above all, no Indian was ever known to lie. Sober and industrious, good farmers and skilful artisans; they scarcely ever had recourse to a law-suit, living peaceably under their native Chiefs. The kingly government is portrayed almost as described in the Code of Manu. The village system is well described, each little rural unit seeming to the Greek an independent republic.

The body of the Aryan Hindus still formed three separate castes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas and Vaisyas; and all of them were equally entitled to wear the sacred thread, to study the Vedas and to perform religious rites and ceremonies. The Sudras, or conquered aborigines, were excluded from the learning and the religious rites of the Aryans, but, nevertheless, they lived under their protection and adopted Hindu manners and customs. Sir William Hunter charges the Indo-Aryans with cruelty towards the Sudras. But a careful insight into Hindu Society cannot fail to disclose real homogeneity amidst apparent heterogeneousness. It is erroneous to suppose that the Indo-Aryans treated the Sudras after the manner of Russian serfs, Greek helots, or Roman plebeians. They were regarded more as children and dependents than slaves or conquered people. There was not that feeling of humiliation and self-debasement under a foreign yoke on the one hand, or haughty domineering and insulting deportment on the other, that are frequently now observed in the relations between the natives and Anglo-Indians.

But whatever was the state of things in this respect in ancient times, it is evident that the Hindu castes, as they exist at present, are drawn towards one another by ties of sympathy and common religion.

Sub-castes were not formed in this age, although the Vaisyas followed various professions, such as those of goldsmiths,

blacksmiths, potters, weavers, &c. Professional castes had not then been established, and the Vaisyas, following all the different professions, still formed one undivided caste, being permitted to study the Vedas and wear the sacred thread.

The marriage of girls at a mature age was looked upon with disfavour, and, with the frequent invasion of foreigners and the insecurity of the times, the custom of early marriage, *i.e.*, of placing little girls under the protection of their husbands came into vogue. Widow marriage, which was freely allowed, in ancient times, was also now discouraged, though not prohibited. Inter-caste marriages were still allowed under the old restrictions, *vis.*, that a girl of a higher caste should be confined by marriage to a family of her own caste. The inhuman custom of Sati was not yet known in India. Thus, though some unhealthy customs were gradually creeping into Hindu society with the gradual decline of national vigour and life, women were still regarded with respect and honour.

This position of respect and honour, the Hindu female has not materially lost, as some European writers seem to think. No doubt, she is kept under tutelage, first of her father, then of her husband, and lastly of her son. But she is certainly not treated as a slave or menial drudge. Her labour is a labour of love; she prefers the comfort and happiness of her parents, husband and children to her own. Self-denial, patient endurance, economy, simplicity, modesty, tenderness and sincere affection are the principal features of her character. Love, as depicted in English novels, plays but a small part in Indian society, for the choice of a mate is not often left by Indian custom to the parties concerned; but its absence is more than compensated by the intensity of the attachment that exists between members of the same family. The family in the old sense of the word still exists in India. In England it is a very different institution. The romance of Indian life is the romance, not of the individual, but of the family. There is good and there is evil in both systems, but it is far from certain that the advantage is wholly on the English side.

The life of the ancient Hindus was materially simple and spiritually sublime. Mr. Elphinstone draws a comparison between them and other ancient nations;

"Of all ancient nations the Egyptians are the ones whom the Hindus seem most to have resembled; it might be easier to compare them with the Greeks as painted by Homer, who was nearly contemporary with the compiler of the Code of Manu, and, however inferior in spirit and energy, as well as in elegance, to that heroic race, yet on contrasting their laws and forms of administration, the state of the arts of life and the general spirit of order and obedience to the laws, the eastern nation

seems clearly to have been in the more advanced stage of society. Their internal institutions were less rude; their conduct to their enemies more humane; their general learning was much more considerable; and in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they were clearly in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens."

HINDU SOCIETY IN THE PAURANIK AGE (A. D. 500 TO 1200).

Hindu religion underwent a gradual change until the Vedic system was thoroughly replaced by Pauranik Hinduism. Elaborate religious rites and ceremonies took the place of the Vedic sacrifices, and image-worship was introduced. As remarked by Mr. Dutt "The essential and cardinal doctrines of both forms of Hinduism are identical. They both recognise One Great God,—the all pervading breath, the universal soul,—Brahma; they both maintain that the universe is an emanation from Him and will resolve into Him; they both recognise rewards and punishments in after-life or lives according to our deeds in this world; and they both insist on the final absorption of our souls in the Great Deity. But, while identical in essential principles, the two forms of Hinduism differ in minor doctrines and observances. The main difference in doctrine is, that the Vedic religion insists on the worship of the manifestations of Nature, called Indra or Surjya, Agni or Varuna, and led up to the worship of the Great Deity. The Pauranik religion, on the other hand, worshipped the Great Deity in his three-fold power of creation, preservation and destruction under the names of Brahma, Vishnu and Moheshwara, and legends of numerous other gods and goddesses were added to fill the popular mind and excite the popular imagination."

The Purans, eighteen in number, are divided into three classes, *viz.*, those sacred to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva respectively. They are very voluminous, containing about 400,000 slokas, or couplets of verses. They were principally composed in the Vikramadityan age, *i.e.*, in the two centuries and a half from 500 to 750 A.D., although they may have been largely added to in subsequent times, even after the Mohammedan conquest. While the Purans narrate the legends of gods and goddesses and inculcate image-worship, another class of works called the Dharma-Shastras lay down rules of action for men. The principal compilers of these Shastras were Parasara and Vyasa.

At a later period were composed the Tantras, which were calculated to counteract the evil influences of the Sankhya

Philosophy, and the Charrak, or Atheistical School. There are now two rival classes of Pundits, namely, those belonging to the Vedic and those belonging to the Tantric Schools. Each of them considers his rivals as the exponents of a false or mistaken religion. This antagonism is highly objectionable and based on a misunderstanding of the true spirit of the Hindu Scriptures, from the Vedas down to the Tantras. There is a substantial agreement in these religious works as to the fundamental principles of Hinduism, although there may be minor differences as to the modes of worship, or rites and ceremonies. Neither nature-worship nor image-worship is idolatrous; both are intended to offer worship to One Supreme God, through the medium either of Nature or of the image.

As nature-worship is worship of God in nature, so image-worship is worship of God through an image. The Hindu does not worship the clay or stone image before him, but conceives the attributes of the Deity through the medium of a image, which serves only to fix his mind. True religion is *Samipya*, feeling the presence of God, *Sayuyya* being one with Him, and *Salokya*, living in Him. These are the principal elements of Divine service and religious conduct universally adopted throughout the civilised world. If the Hindu method of worship is idolatrous, then all systems of religion which prescribe the worship of God in a particular form are also idolatrous, "for they all have their ideals and what are idols if not the external representations of their ideals?" "Idol," says Carlyle, "is eidolon, a thing seen, a symbol. It is not God, but a symbol of God. The most rigorous Puritan has his Confession of Faith, and intellectual representation of Divine things, and worships thereby. All creeds, liturgies, religious forms, conceptions, that fitly invest religious things, are in this sense *bidola*, things seen. All worship whatsoever must proceed by Symbols, by Idols; we may say, all idolatry is comparative and the worst idolatry is only more idolatrous."

The Hindu welcomes all modes of worship, the progressive stages being from image-worship to mental worship, and from mental contemplation of the Deity to union with Him. So long as there are diversities in intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement in a society, there must be divers methods of worship and various conceptions of Divinity. To adopt one uniform system for persons of different culture is practically to do away with worship altogether.

Prayer is the spontaneous outburst of deep emotions towards the Deity. Sincere and fervent devotion constitutes the essence of prayer. So long as one has a firm faith in and profound veneration for God, it is immaterial how he

worships or prays to Him. Tantra is science as well as religion. The two have been happily blended together so that Hindu Astronomy, Geometry, Algebra, Medicine, Law, have all been connected, in some way or other, with religion. The Tantrics made wonderful discoveries in the departments of medicine, animal magnetism, psychology and general knowledge of things. From a religious point of view, they are the worshippers of Sakti, or power.

The Tantras may be divided into three groups :—firstly, they collected and arranged systematically the wisdom of by-gone ages ; secondly, they purged whatever was considered unattainable and false, either in religion, science or politics ; and thirdly, they imported into these subjects fresh ideas and experience that appeared suitable to them. They did all these things at a time when they were most needed, namely when Hindu society was completely unhinged.

Glimpses of the social life of the Hindus during this period may be obtained from the classic literature of the Vikramadityan age. Girls were not married at an early age ; they were taught to read and write. Music and painting were also considered female accomplishments. The marriage of widows was strictly prohibited in the later Pauranick period. It was then that the cruel custom of Sati came into vogue.

Sub-castes sprang up in this period. The Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas who followed different professions were now divided into fresh castes, such as the Kaisthas, the Vaidyas, the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the potters and the weavers, and they were deprived of their ancient right to acquire religious learning and wear the sacred thread. Religious knowledge thus became the monopoly of the Brahmans. This monopoly was the root of Hindu degeneration or spiritual decline. Knowledge is power and light, and when the major portion of the community was excluded from its privilege, the result could not but be general ignorance and superstition, weakness and debasement.

MODERN HINDU SOCIETY.

Chaitanya, the great apostle of love, inaugurated a new period of Hinduism. While the Vedas impart a true knowledge of the Divine nature, Sree Gauranga made the real presence, as it were, of the Deity, felt as One Real and Loving Personality. The Haribol he uttered, was a celestial music producing a wonderful spiritual effect. The Nama Sankirtan, which he has inaugurated, continues to the present day, and is calculated to bring about the spiritual regeneration of the Hindus and bind them together in the ties of universal brotherhood, if properly appreciated and feelingly uttered in the spirit of the renowned religious teacher. The devout and sincere utterance of

Harinam cannot fail to produce a galvanising effect, moving us to our very core, purifying and transporting us to ecstasy. Chaitanya, like Christ and Buddha, attained the highest development of humanity, and his holy life is a grand object-lesson of learning unselfishness and self-denial—benevolence and purity. There is genuine joy only in the emotions of the heart; sensibility is the whole man. It is the culture of the sentiments which constitutes real manhood. True religion consists in love to God and love to man.

The doctrine of the universal brotherhood of mankind, preached by Buddha, appears to be reflected or shadowed forth in Chaitanya's teachings of love and compassion to our fellow-creatures. But, as Buddhism degenerated into puritanism, so Chaitanya's message of love has resulted in bairagism or religious asceticism.

Puritanism, or asceticism, can serve no useful purpose. It cannot be said that pleasures should be altogether avoided as great obstacles to virtue. They keep up our spirits and cheerfulness—the best means of preserving health. They refresh us after labour and renovate our strength. They are perfectly allowable, provided they are innocent.

Pleasures, being a sort of relief to labour, are means to an end. If exclusively indulged in, they pall upon the senses and defeat their own object. Such being the case, a constant round of pleasures cannot afford true happiness or satisfy our aspirations. But moderate and innocent enjoyment of pleasures is not only lawful but necessary. In order to enjoy such pleasures we must have wealth. Wealth is a real and substantial thing which ministers to our pleasures, increases our comfort, multiplies our resources and not unfrequently alleviates our pains. Is desire of wealth really incompatible with our spiritual welfare? It has been said that one cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. This does not mean that a proper and judicious use of wealth is ungodly, or that an unostentatious and sincere devotion to God is inconsistent with good fortune. All that it indicates is that the abuse or pride of wealth may lead to irreligion and vice. Wealth, like pleasure, is a means to an end. When the end is lost sight of, and wealth is sought for its own sake, when people die in harness, not knowing what the sweets of retirement are, or hoard up riches, stinting themselves and suffering from self-denial and mortification of the senses, it is all the same whether they are rich or poor. A truly happy life is the result of two facts, the development of material prosperity and the progress of humanity. These two elements are closely connected the one with the other. The inward is reformed by the outward, as the outward by the inward. Civilisation is the result of two facts; the deve-

lopment of social and individual activity, the progress of society and of humanity.

Individual and social progress being the principal elements of civilisation, Hindu Society, in order to regain its past state and occupy a prominent place among modern civilised nations, must attain this two-fold perfection. It must combine the advantages of the old and the new order of things.

There has been a dearth of Hindu social reformers. This want can be supplied if every learned Hindu householder carefully studies the Hindu philosophy and scriptures, and introduces into his family the approved manners and customs enjoined by such high authorities, modified, no doubt, by the altered circumstances and the spirit of the present age. In this way a germ will be created of genuine progress. And as social progress is the sum total of individual progress, in course of time Hindu society would undergo substantial improvements upon esoteric lines urgently demanded in its interests.

In order to attain this highly desirable social progress, we must first of all enquire what are the excellencies and peculiar good features on the one hand, and the wants and imperfections on the other, of the existing Hindu social constitution.

The Hindu joint family system has called forth the admiration even of high-placed Englishmen. "I am not blind," says Mr., now Sir H. J. S. Cotton, in a letter addressed to a native friend, "to the excellencies of your family organisation; and desire to especially acknowledge the admirable domestic influence it exercises upon its members. As an Englishman with my home in a country where the family tie is comparatively lightly regarded, and the members of a family tear themselves asunder as a matter of course, and almost without compunction, and settle apart from one another in all the quarters of the Globe, I cannot but appreciate the immense affective superiority of the organisation you enjoy. Properly speaking, it is only by the natural cultivation of the family affections that a man is able instinctively to call into existence dispositions calculated to fit him individually for public life. In your family arrangements you possess, therefore, through a process of progressive development, the necessary panoply of life, and I trust that the high recognition of the urgency of domestic sympathy will never be forgotten, whatever may be the vicissitudes, the joint family system is destined to experience."

Side by side with this excellent family organisation, there exists a pernicious practice, eating into the vitals of rural Hindu social life, I mean *dalladali*, or party spirit. If a villager violates any religious or social custom, and the whole rural

Hindu community agree in thinking that his act amounts to an uncompromising repudiation of such custom on a very important point, he is excommunicated, *i.e.*, inter-marriage and inter-dining with his caste people are prohibited. Washer-men and barbers would refuse to serve him. If there is difference of opinion as to the propriety of his conduct, his supporters and opponents form themselves into two opposite parties, who cease to dine with each other. Such is the reverence paid to custom and such are the rigorous measures generally adopted to preserve it intact! No doubt, public opinion exercises a salutary influence upon the manners of an individual or society, and is on that ground entitled to great respect. But, in matters of social custom, it is better to obtain, in case of difference of opinion, an authoritative decision of persons competent to form a correct and enlightened opinion on the point in dispute, than to boycott a person on the erroneous supposition, it may be, of the violation of a custom.

Another source of evil is the popular belief in fatalism. In the following translation of certain well-known slokas, there is a clear recognition of the principle of free will:—

“Prosperity attends the effort of the great man. It is only the unmanly and imbecile who say men are favoured by fortune; act your manly part in killing the demon of fate. You are not to blame if you do not succeed in spite of your best exertions.”

A belief in fatalism is not only philosophically absurd, but a great obstacle to progress, making us lead indolent and inactive lives. For if one is led to think that his destiny will be the same, whether he applies himself diligently to further his interests, or leads an inactive and idle life, he can hardly have any strong motive for self-improvement. Far from doing any good, it sometimes leads to fatal consequences. A person under the influence of such a belief is often found to refuse medicine, even when dangerously ill. If he suffers from misery or hardship of any kind, he will attribute it to Divine dispensation, and, perhaps, will unblushingly charge God with injustice and cruelty. It is unscientific to ascribe to supernatural agency the result of our actions ending in vice or misery. Science ascribes to natural causes what ignorance ascribes to supernatural causes. According to this view, the calamities with which the world is afflicted, are the result of the ignorance of man and not of the interference of God. We must not, therefore, ascribe to Him what is due to our folly or vice.

Whatever is catholic and rational demands our best consideration; whatever is illiberal and irrational ought to be rejected. There should be no misconception of the true nature of

ART. VI.—THE LAND LAWS OF BENGAL.

(Concluded from *Calcutta Review*, January, 1900, No. 219.)

CHAPTER III.

The Land Tenures.

IN Bengal we have at present the singular spectacle of a landed aristocracy, composed mostly of modern wealthy families, who have invested their capital in landed estates for the purpose of getting a fixed annual income. These estates are let out generally on permanent leases, and the proprietors are nothing but annuitants in the literal sense of the word. Those intermediate holdings which are styled Permanent Tenures in legal phraseology, abound in this province more than anywhere else. They have cast their ramifications far and wide and constitute the bulk of landed property in this part of the country. Thus, between the landlord and the cultivator, there intervene in many cases a body of interlopers, who have for generations, for good or for evil, held sway over the ryots, and who are responsible to the landlord only for the payment of a fixed amount of yearly rent. These tenure-holders are the Taluqdars of Bengal—a class of people whose influence and wealth at the present day are steadily increasing, and who undoubtedly form the backbone of the landed interest of the province. The extortionate demands of land-revenue and the repeated encroachments on the profits of Zemindars in the shape of fresh imposts on land threw them into a state of great alarm and excitement. To oppress the ryots with fresh demands was not a task at all congenial to the old Zemindar who used to look upon them as his own children: the only way out of this embarrassing position was for him to let out the estate at a fixed annual rent, leaving the new tenure-holder to squeeze as much as he could out of the ryots. Thus the State, by imposing an exorbitant land revenue on the Zemindar, laid him necessarily under the temptation of permanently leasing out his estate to others. These latter had no course left them in their turn, in many instances, but that of plundering all below them.

Of all the land-tenures in Bengal, the *Putni* is the most important and valuable. It came into vogue in the estate of the Burdwan Raj, and, like most permanent tenures, is alienable and heritable in its nature. In addition to these attributes, it has others which raise it specially in the estimation of Zemindars: it is governed by a special law of its own, Regulation VIII of 1819. By virtue of this law Zemindars are empowered to

apply for a summary sale of the tenure before the collector for realization of all current half-yearly and yearly rents due. This application is made twice, once on the first day of Kartick and again on the first day of Bysack. If the money is not paid down on the sale day, the tenure is sold off. Any one acquainted with the dilatory character of the proceedings of our Courts of Justice and the troubles of executing a Civil Court decree, combined with the excessive charges on account of Court fees, process fees and pleader's fees, knows how litigation takes the life out of a man in this country. The Zemindar, of all people, knows how dangerous it is to litigate, but the pity is that he has to come, however unwillingly into Court, where his troubles are more often aggravated than relieved. He sues for a couple of years' rents from his tenant, who appears and contests the suit. In the end the Zemindar wins. The tenant asks for a review, and so the proceedings are prolonged without the least prospect of the Zemindar's rents and costs being realised. By this time, he has had to pay, perhaps, no fewer than twelve instalments of revenue to Government, while he is in the sad predicament of not having realised a single pice of the rents due from his tenants. While the Government realises its dues like a machine from the Zemindar, the latter has to watch and wait—till perhaps his estate is knocked down to the highest bid, which means a mere trifle in comparison with his purchase money and the money he laid out originally in improvements.

Struck apparently with this great hardship on the Zemindar, the Government, with a benevolent intention, introduced the system of *Putni* tenure. It entitles the Zemindar to a speedy realisation of rents from his tenants, by making a simple application at a cost of a trifling sum of eight annas only before the Collector. But the trouble, and verily it is a sore trouble to him, begins as soon as the tenure is sold. The defaulting tenant forthwith files a civil suit to have this summary sale set aside on the ground of irregularity. It is an open secret that a sale of a *Putni* tenure, by a Collector in accordance with the provisions of Regulation VIII of 1819, is rarely held valid by a Civil Court. Like the course of true love the proceedings under this enactment never run smooth. Either the sale proclamation was not duly issued, or notices were not served and published by the Collector according to law. It has not been though fit to amend this fossil Regulation, which was passed by the legislature in the beginning of the present century, by the light of the experience of nearly a hundred years, although there is a crying necessity for a change.

On the first day of the Bengali year, when the Zemindar applies for sale of a *Putni* tenure for realisation of his

dues of the previous year, a notice, specifying the balance due from the tenant is stuck up in a conspicuous part of the Collector's Court, stating that, if it is not paid before the first of the next month, it will be sold on that day by public auction in liquidation. A similar notice is posted up at the Zemindar's office, or *Sadder Cutcheree*, and a third is sent out for publication at the principal town or village upon the land of the defaulter. The rule of service is thus set out in the Regulation:—"The Zemindar shall be exclusively answerable for the observance of the forms above prescribed, and the notice required to be sent into the *mofussil* shall be served by a *single* peon, who shall bring back the receipt of the defaulter, or of his manager for the same; or in the event of inability to procure this, the signatures of three substantial persons residing in the neighbourhood, in attestation of the notice having been brought and published on the spot. If it shall appear, from the tenour of the receipt or attestation in question, that the notice has been published at any time previous to the 15th of the month of Bysack, it shall be a sufficient warrant for the sale to proceed upon the day appointed. In case the people of the village should refuse or object to sign their names in attestation, the peon shall go to the Court of the nearest Munsiff, or if there be no Munsiff, to the nearest *thana*, and there make voluntary oath of the same having been duly published;—certificate to which effect shall be signed and sealed by the said officers, and delivered to the peon."

Now in this sending out of a single peon with the sale notice, as much difficulty is felt by the Zemindar as in the proverbial belling of the cat. The messenger, of course, hurries with his notification of sale through the villages of the defaulting tenure, and it rouses as warm an interest as the sending forth of the Fiery Cross did in the days of Rhoderic Dhu in the Highlands of Scotland. The sale of the tenure becomes an engrossing topic of discussion amongst the ryots, who are fully aware of what is in store for them; how the possession of the tenure by the new purchaser is to be attended with riot and opposition, and how their rents are sure to be increased by the new man. Conscious of these facts, they band together under the protection of their old *taluqdar*, and support him through and through when he brings a civil suit to set aside the summary sale. Thus the statement of the single peon of the Zemindar regarding the correctness of the publication of the notification of sale is set at nought by the mendacity of the host of men produced by the tenant. The result is that the Zemindar not only loses the case, but is cast in damages and costs, for he has to return the whole of the purchase money to the purchaser with interest and costs

Irregularities are so common in the proceedings of this sale, that, either through the Collector not having published the notice in a conspicuous part of his Court, or through the laches of the Zemindar, the sale is often set aside. The slightest deviation from the rules laid down in the Regulation for the service of sale notices is a material irregularity for which the sale is liable to be set aside. While in revenue sales the jurisdiction of the Civil Court is narrowed down to the utmost limit, in the sale of the *Putni* tenures, on the contrary, this jurisdiction is extended to the utmost extent possible. While Government has shown a most anxious solicitude for the recovery of its own revenue, it has done nothing of the kind with regard to the recovery of rents by Zemindars from their tenants. This clearly incongruous state of things with reference to unequal laws about the recovery of revenue by Government and rent by Zemindars puts the latter at a very great disadvantage. In Government estates, rents are realised by the simple process of issue of certificates, which have all the force of decrees of Civil Courts. Why, then, is the Zemindar not allowed to do the same for the recovery of his rents from unwilling ryots? Even the single boon of applying for a summary sale of *Putni* tenures is attended with so many risks and disadvantages, that it has come to be looked upon as a most doubtful blessing. If the Collector refuses to sell a tenure or sells it improperly, you have no remedy by appeal to the Commissioner or the Revenue Board. It is a most strange principle of law that, while appeals are allowed in all revenue sales, there is no provision in *Putni* sales for them. In these latter cases, the pecuniary value at stake sometimes reaches lakhs and lakhs of rupees, and to make the Collector a simple autocrat in such an important matter is, to say the least, highly arbitrary! Sometimes the Collectors, by refusing to sell *Putni* tenures, subject the landlord to the greatest hardship. The Revenue Board is imperative in the framing of its rules on this subject, and has lately inserted a proviso that, although no appeals are allowed in these cases from the orders of the Collectors, still, the Commissioner of a Division, on the motion of parties, can advise the Collectors as to the proper mode of procedure when they have erred, so as to rectify future errors of the kind. This is virtually shutting the stable-door after the steed is stolen. The law regarding the sale of *Putni* tenures should be amended and framed on the lines of the Revenue Sale law. The notices to be served should be served exclusively through the medium of the Collector, and the jurisdiction of the Civil Court should be narrowed down as much as possible, regard being of course had to the fair and just rights of all parties. The law, as it stands, is all on the side of the tenant and dead against the interests of the Zemindars as a body.

Sales of *Putni* tenures are far more numerous than those of Estates. Formerly they usually extended over two or three days ; while now they are generally completed in one.

The Burdwan Raj is the holder of the largest number of estates that are let out in *Putni*. These tenures, again, are let out by the tenure-holders to others at fixed rents, and this process of sub-infeudation sometimes goes down to the third or fourth degree. The under-tenants have always a right to stay the sale of the original tenure by lodging the amount of rent for which the Zemindars have sued. Such money paid by under-tenants for the preservation of the parent-tenure is to be carried to the account of the tenant lodging it. If the *Putnidar* has any rent due to him, the money so deposited will go towards the liquidation of the same, and if no rent is due to him from the under-tenants, the money deposited will have the effect of a mortgage and can be realised from the usufruct of the tenure.

Just as in revenue sales estates are sold free of all encumbrances, and all tenures and under-tenures fall through, so in sales under the *Putni* law the tenures are sold free of all encumbrances and all engagements with under-tenants are cancelled.

Beyond a year's rent, the Zemindar cannot sue according to the provisions of Regulation VIII of 1819 before the Collector for a summary sale. Arrears of rent of more than a year, even of *Putni* tenures, must be recovered under the Bengal Tenancy Act, like arrears of other permanent tenures. The same extortionate charges for Court fees and pleader's fees, and the same troubles on account of the law's delay and insolence of office, which are inherent in regular suits in our Courts of Justice, are encountered in such cases.

The question whether a *Putni* tenure can be sold in summary sale before the Collector when a co-sharer of the Zemindari has applied for such a sale without joining with the rest, has now been decided in the negative. The broad principle of law on this subject is that no co-sharer of an estate is entitled to apply alone. But if the co-sharer has himself granted his own share in *Putni* lease, or, in other words, if, by the terms of the lease, such a co-sharer is entitled to realise his share of rents separately without any connection with others, he can apply for sale in the same way as if he were the owner of the entire estate.

Tenures are either heritable, or their rent is fixed in perpetuity, or both. These three sorts make up almost a complete classification of tenures in Bengal. Those that are heritable are known commonly as "Maurusi," those at fixed rents as "Mukurari," and those that are both heritable and have their

rents fixed in perpetuity as "*Maurusi Mukurani*," *Putni* tenures come under the last denomination.

To determine whether a tenure or under-tenure is permanent and held at fixed rent, it must be shown that it has been in existence on payment of a uniform rent since the Permanent Settlement, or, that being a difficult thing to prove, it must be shown that it has been paying that rent for the last twenty years. Such a tenure, however, is liable to an enhancement of rent if there has been any increase of area. Permanent tenure-holders cannot be ejected for non-payment of rent, but their tenures can be sold in execution of a decree for the rent thereof. But they may be ejected for a breach of any covenant in a lease. Such breach, if capable of being compensated by the tenant, does not warrant an ejectment, unless the latter has failed to pay the compensation.

A contract in a lease that the tenant shall have no right of alienation is now generally held to be bad. The Bengal Tenancy Act expressly enjoins that every permanent tenure-holder has a right to transfer his tenure absolutely. The present state of the law is that, notwithstanding such a restrictive condition, it is not enforceable against a purchaser, unless there is an express provision for forfeiture or for re-entry by reason of an assignment in violation of its terms. It applies only to voluntary alienation, and not to sales in execution of decrees or assignment by operation of law.

The right of a joint-landlord to sue for rent is now beyond dispute, but the decree he gets is an ordinary money-decree. The landlord, in execution of a rent decree, is not now bound to bring the defaulting tenure to sale, but he is quite at liberty to follow any of the tenant's property for the realisation of his dues.

The effect of a sale of the tenure for arrears, at the instance of the sole landlord, is to free it practically from all encumbrances, excepting those that are "protected."

The defaulter can, if he likes, get the sale set aside by depositing, within a month, the arrears of rent with a penalty amounting to 5 per cent. of the purchase money, which is to go to the purchaser as compensation. The Bengal Tenancy Act entitles any one having any interest which is voidable upon a sale for arrears, to pay into Court the decretal amount of rent and costs, and stop the sale. The amount thus paid becomes a lien on the tenure.

Service tenures, or lands leased out in perpetuity by the superior landlord to persons on condition of their discharging certain services or duties, either personal to him or to the public at large, have long abounded in Bengal, and have been the subject-matter of litigation in our Courts of Justice. The

duties of policemen and soldiers were often, in olden times, rewarded by grants of lands from the State. The village watchman has come down to us with his little patch of land from time immemorial. The Government is, however, slowly but surely working out the destruction of the service tenures of our village Chowkidars. The lands have, by recent legislation, been made to revert to the landlord, the Government promising to pay the Chowkidar's salary, partly from the revenue derived from these lands and partly from the proceeds of taxation. As long as he enjoyed the service tenure, the lands were not subjected to any assessment by Government. But now the authorities not only assess these service tenures at the highest figure possible, but impose heavy taxation on the villagers whose life and property are safeguarded by the nightly watch of the Chowkidar. The extinction of these tenures has already commenced, and its evil effects have become apparent. It has not only launched the province upon a sea of litigation among landlords, tenure-holders, and chowkidars, but has brought the last named individuals into a most critical position. The lands which maintained them and their family for countless generations are now gone, and the salary they get is so trifling that they can no longer make both ends meet. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that these men should be driven to swell the ranks of ruffians, bandits and robbers, and it is too late now for Government to retrace its steps, as it is doing in many instances, by issuing notices to landlords to lease out these reverted Chowkidari Chakran lands to the Chowkidars themselves at the lowest rate of rent and without any bonuses. If this is not tinkering at legislation I do not know what is. The amount assessed becomes a part of the police-fund of the locality. The village watchmen who used to get the entire proceeds of the lands, now get nothing from them except the revenue assessed on them. The balance of their salary is got from villagers in the form of a tax.

In the meanwhile a crop of litigation has arisen between the landlord and the *Putnidar* with reference to the rights of each to these Chowkidari Chakran lands. These lands have been settled with the Zemindar, and naturally he says to his tenant: "You have no right to them. They form an altogether separate estate, and were so long vested in Government." The *Putnidar* replies: "It is mine by right all the same, as it appertained to the parent estate, which was let out to me in permanent lease originally without any reservation." How far this contention is valid, the Privy Council will ultimately have to decide. The Zemindar has to pay revenue for these lands over and above what he pays for the original

estate, and is he to bear all this burden while a third party reaps the benefit? Had the Zemindar not consented to the settlement, where would the *Putnidar* be?

The Calcutta High Court seems to favour the rights of the landlord to these service-free lands, to the entire exclusion of the *Putnidar*.

In addition to these lands, certain lands were devoted exclusively to the service of the police by landlords, who were responsible in those days for public peace and good order as well as for the administration of justice. The Government, however, resumed all these police establishments and took them under its own control and also all lands devoted to police purposes. The amount of assessment levied on these lands forms what is paid by Zemindars as police revenue in many estates.

In hilly districts such as Bancoorah and Beerbhoom, the Ghâtwali tenures form a class unique in their nature. They are held for the purpose of police-service in the majority of cases. The duty of the "ghatwals" was to protect the hill-passes and travellers. Some hold their lands entirely rent-free and some at a quit-rent payable to Government, or to the Zemindar. These tenures also abound in Chota-Nagpur and Hazaribagh. The holders in Hazaribagh are almost independent chiefs, paying a nominal yearly rent to Government. The head of these chiefs is called a "Tikaet." The *Pax Britannica* has long since embraced even the primeval forests of Hazaribagh and Chota-Nagpur, and the duties of these chiefs have almost become obsolete. Many of these are nothing more than permanent tenures at the present day. In some places the 'ghatwals' are under the Zemindar directly. As soon as the services rendered by these 'ghâtswals' were found to be needless in many instances, both the Government and the Zemindar attempted to do away with them, but the 'ghatwals' asserted their hereditary rights to the lands, whether their services were needed or not. This contention became the subject of constant litigation and strife in past years, unless and until it was settled once for all by the decision of the Privy Council in the case of *Koolodeep Narain vs. Mahadeo Singh*, 6 W.R., 109. These tenures were held to be hereditary, and the Zemindar incompetent to resume the lands at his option. Neither had he the power to put an end to the tenures on the ground that the services were no longer required.

The question, originally came before a Full Bench of the High Court at Calcutta. The learned Chief Justice, Sir Barnes Peacock, in an elaborate judgment, said—"Some cases were cited to show that, even assuming these lands to be subject to a ghâtwali tenure, the Zemindar has a right,

whenever he pleases, to dispense with the ghatwali services and to take back the lands. Now, I must say, that this is the first time I have ever heard such a contention as that. It is not because the services, are released or dispensed with, or become unnecessary that the estate can be resumed. If a grantor release the services, or a portion of the services, upon which lands are holden, the tenant may hold the land free from the services, but the landlord cannot put an end to the tenure and resume the lands. Many services upon which very valuable estates are held, are of little value now. The estates may be very valuable and the services almost valueless. But some large landed proprietors would be somewhat astonished if they were told that the services have been dispensed with, and their estates are liable to be resumed. It might as well be contended that, if lands were granted at a small quit-rent, the landlord might relinquish or dispense with the payment of the rent and take back the lands."

In spite of this decision of the highest tribunal of the land, the local Government seriously applied itself to the task of assessing ghatwali tenures in several cases, and did it successfully by sheer force of authority. The Bengal Administration Report of 1895-96, page 42, para. 113 says:—"The services which the ghatwals (in Bankura), as a sort of inferior police, used to render are no longer required by Government, and Sir Charles Elliot decided to undertake the settlement of a few ghâts without legislation, by amicable arrangement, on the following conditions:—(a) That the figures as to area of the survey of 1880 to 1887 be accepted; (b) that the lands be assessed with rent at a rate about 25 per cent. below current rates; and (c) that the ghât be settled with the Zemindar, the Maharajah of Burdwan, at 50 per cent. of the assets, the ghatwals henceforth becoming raiyats of the Zemindar. It was ruled by Sir Charles Elliot that the status of the ghatwals would be that of occupancy raiyats, the raiyats under them being held to be entitled by custom to acquire a right of occupancy."

In the judgment a part of which I have quoted above, His Lordship, Sir Barnes Peacock further added:—"Clearly the Zemindar had no right to dispense with those services which had been reserved by the former Government for the benefit of the public. Suppose the former Government had granted land for services of a religious nature to be performed. The British Government would not require those services, but that would be no reason for determining the tenure of the person who held the land upon those services, as long as he is willing to perform them. The tenure is not to be determined merely at the will or caprice of the landlord, when

the land has become valuable, probably by the exertions and expenditure of capital by the tenant." How Sir Charles Elliot, in the face of such a judicial decision, with the full consciousness of the sense of wrong that would be inflicted on these service tenure-holders if their lands were subjected to assessment, could placidly come to the conclusion of doing so by legislation if compromise fell through, is a riddle too difficult for solution to the minds of laymen.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ryots.

There is, perhaps, no class of subjects so important to the well-being of the country as the ryots, or the cultivating class. In India, where agriculture is the principal occupation of the people, the welfare of the cultivating class is a matter of vital moment. If there is a class of men on the surface of the earth upon whom the primeval curse of God has fallen it is the ryot; for truly it may be said of him that he earns his bread with the sweat of his brow. It was he who, under the protecting shadow of the landlord, endeavoured with all his might and main to burn the jungle grass, break up the clay soil, and sow the land. It was his thews and sinews that were primarily concerned in cutting down the jungle and clearing the waste. It is directly through his exertions that India has become the greatest corn-growing country in the world. He is the mainstay of the landlord and the Government alike. As the bulk of the revenue of the country is derived from land, it is only fair that the welfare of the cultivating class should be well looked after by Government.

The Permanent Settlement, the Magna Charta of the landholding class, reserved a special clause for the protection of the ryot, and the intervention of Government when necessary. The question of fixing his rent was mooted almost from the days of the Permanent Settlement up to 1859, when the Rent Act first saw the light of day. The principle which underlies all these discussions is that, as the Settlement has fixed permanently the yearly revenue paid by the Zemindar to the Government, it is only fair that the rent paid by the ryot should also be fixed in the same way. The battle raged fiercely, for some time, until, in 1859, the thin end of the wedge was introduced in the form of the Rent Act, and all enhancements by Zemindars were severely checked. One might think that this made the condition of the ryots far better:—far from it. It was only the lull before the storm, for only a few years afterwards the Road and Public Works Cesses were introduced and made permanent throughout the land. Much is made, in writing anything about the ryots now-a-days, of the so-called

illegal cesses realized by the Zemindar in olden days : but it is entirely forgotten that what the Zemindar used to take in those days as cesses was paid only occasionally, and at the same time most cheerfully, while at present a series of the most extortionate cesses have been levied permanently and are realized regularly through the machinery of the Revenue Department, without any consideration for the ryots' position or circumstances. This policy of heaping one burden after another, upon Zemindars and ryots, has produced the most disastrous results in this country. The land-holder has been impoverished equally with the tenant. Why this should be the ultimate result of the so-called beneficent legislation of Government with reference to land is obvious to the most cursory observer. The benevolent legislation which the British Government has introduced from time to time for the purpose of safe-guarding the interests of the ryots has been nullified by the imposition of a succession of land taxes, of the most extortionate character. What the State gave the ryot with one hand has been taken away by the other. The landlord is to pay all these taxes directly to Government and then realize them by means of civil suits. The process is certainly as costly and ruinous as can be, and it is no wonder that the ryot suffers in many instances more than the landlord.

The status of the ryot has now been made clear by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. He is a cultivator in the strictest sense of the word. In Bengal he may be said to enjoy generally a very large immunity from enhancement of rent. It is only when the land which he occupies is found by measurement to be of greater area, or where the price of food-grains has increased, or the rent paid by him is below the prevailing rate, or the productive powers of the land have improved by fluvial action, or improvements carried out at the expense of the landlord, that an enhancement of rent can be claimed from him. On the other hand, he can get his rent reduced on grounds exactly the reverse of these without any great ado. Even the increased rent cannot be realized from him save and except by a civil suit. He is presumed to pay rent at a fair and equitable rate, which cannot now be increased by more than two annas in the rupee, and any contract in violation of this rule has been held to be null and void. Rent once increased cannot again be increased for the space of fifteen years. These privileges, of course, hold good only with reference to an occupancy ryot, who attains the right of non-ejection by simply occupying lands for a succession of twelve years. A positive indulgence has now been given him by the legislature, for a ryot has at present all the presumption of being an occupancy ryot from the beginning, if he has

settled in a certain place for the space of three years only. The holding of an occupancy ryot is heritable, but not transferable, except where custom and usage make it so. He cannot be ejected for non-payment of rent; but his holding is liable to be sold in execution of a decree for rent, which is a first charge on the holding. He may use the land in any way he pleases, provided it does not impair the value of the land or render it unfit for the purpose of the tenancy. He can even cut down trees, if it is not in violation of any local custom. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 has made a wide departure with reference to the status of an occupancy ryot. Hitherto he had no proprietary right whatsoever in the soil; but the Act gives him a proprietary right, although greatly limited in its character.

The right of an occupancy ryot is to be respected even when sales for arrears of revenue or rent take place. The Revenue Sale law specially provides that a purchaser of a whole estate, in spite of his right to make null and void all under-tenures and evict under-tenants, is not empowered to "eject any occupancy ryot holding at a fixed rent or at a rent assessable according to fixed rules under the laws in force." An occupancy ryot can surrender his holding whenever he likes.

In many districts the occupancy ryot has always played an important part in the increase of cultivation and improvement of agriculture. Like the Irish peasant, he has an unbounded love for his homestead and holding, and instances are numerous where his family has lived in the same place for several generations.

It will be seen from the above that the aspersion cast on Lord Cornwallis, that he was actuated, in the framing of the Permanent Settlement solely by the motive of creating a landed aristocracy similar to that of England in Bengal at the sacrifice of the interests of the ryots was as baseless as it was ungenerous. It may be well to quote here the exact words of the Regulation:—"It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people and more particularly those, who from their situation, are helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent taluqdars, raiyats, and other cultivators of the soil." The Minute which he wrote on the Permanent Settlement, while conceding all proprietary right in the soil to the land-holder, is pregnant with sympathetic feelings towards the ryot. I quote here a couple of sentences from that able document:—

"Whoever cultivates the land, the Zemindar can receive no more than the established rent, which, in most places, is fully

equal to what the cultivator can afford to pay. To permit him to dispossess one cultivator for the sole purpose of giving the land to another, would be vesting him with a power, to commit a wanton act of oppression, from which he could derive no benefit." (Fifth Report.)

The other class of ryots are the non-occupancy ryots. Contract and usage determine their payments of rent.

These are almost the only class of tenants that can be ejected, though with difficulty. The main grounds for ejectment are failure to pay rent, rendering the land unfit for tenancy and breach of contract. Ejectment suits to be successful must be brought after six months' notice to quit.

One of the strangest doctrines of law promulgated by the Indian Legislature, which appears both unjust and repugnant to an Oriental people, is that there can be no occupancy right in a ryot's homestead lands.

Non-agricultural lands are governed by the Transfer of Property Act and the Contract Act, English law being applied to cases where no distinct provision is laid down in these Acts. Rules of equity and good conscience are applied to them, but in several instances they have not been applied wisely.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONDITION OF THE BENGAL RYOTS.

There is no question more important and interesting than the condition of the cultivators of the soil in different parts of the Province of Bengal. No discussion of the land-laws of Bengal would be of any value unless it were shown how they affect the material well-being and happiness of the ryots—that toiling and moiling class of people through whose physical exertions the jungle has diminished, agriculture has spread, and a magnificent internal trade has sprung up throughout the province. It will be a rude shock to the feelings of many to learn that, even in the Bengal Presidency—the most civilized and the most advanced of all—there are millions of cultivators sunk in the utmost depths of poverty and degradation.

Shall I recite the hard routine of a peasant's life? A tiny thatched roof, supported by a few bamboos, is his only shelter from the fierce sun and rain throughout the livelong year. He toils from morn to dewy eve, ploughing and working in the field. At about nine in the morning he snatches a hasty breakfast of fried rice, after which he works again under the burning sun up to noon. He then takes his mid-day meal—a dish of boiled coarse rice, seasoned simply with salt and chillies. He is an utter stranger to luxury and can ill-afford to get even the barest necessities of life. Until the influx of Manchester

goods, be used to wear homespun cloth, thick as canvas and strong as iron. Returning home from the field at candle-light, he eats the same coarse fare, mixed, perhaps, with a little curry, and then lies down to sleep on a mat or on the bare floor. At sowing time he works for a whole week without any break, and sometimes even at night, if the moon serves him. During transplantation he labour amidst pelting rain and ankle-deep water. Then, as a bumper crop appears and begins to ripen, he has to keep a sharp look out day and night, scaring away wild beasts from ravaging his golden harvest. By December all the grain is cut, threshed, and stacked in granaries.

The ryot of Bengal proper is in a fair condition, compared with the ryot of Bihar and Orissa, with whom existence is daily a most difficult problem to solve. Poor though the Bengali ryot is, his condition is prosperous in comparison with the most pitiable state of the Bihari and the Urya. The former can somehow make both ends meet, while the latter cannot, and has to half starve during most of the days of his existence.

I shall describe the condition of the Bihar peasantry first of all.

Bihar is a large and fertile province washed by the two mighty rivers, the Ganges and the Sone. The boon of Permanent Settlement has long been granted to it; but still we find here a state of things which is almost appalling in its nature.

This favoured region is, by the admission of all who are acquainted with it, "notorious for the utter wretchedness, the hopeless destitution, which are chronic among its people." This state of things is entirely borne out by the Administration Reports themselves, and is not in the least exaggerated.

Mr. Tytler, opium agent of Siwan, whose knowledge of the North and West of the District is unrivalled, estimated that ninety-five per cent. of the ordinary ryots live and die in debt. Good seasons do not go far to increase their savings, for what profit they make is immediately devoured.

I shall quote below what the Hon'ble G. Toynbee, now of the Revenue Board, said with regard to the state of the people in a report, while he was the District Magistrate of Patna.

"The expression 'living from hand to mouth' has assumed for me a more definite and tangible though less satisfactory meaning than it ever had before. I have been over the houses of hundreds of the poorer classes, and have seen how they live and what they eat. I could not have believed, had I not seen it for myself, how abject is their poverty..... Many of them do not know what it is to have two meals a day; and most of them do not know, when they rise in the morning,

whether they will get one full meal or not. Wages have remained as before, while the prices of all kinds of food have increased. Over-population seems to be an effectual bar to any material improvement that might otherwise be brought about by increased means of communication, by education, and other similar means."

The Bengal Government reported thus in 1878: "Nearly every local officer consulted is agreed that while a system of summary and cheap rent procedure is required in the interests of both the Zemindar and the ryot, the most urgent requirement of Bihar is an amelioration of the condition of the peasantry."

The Bengal Government in the Administration Report, for the Patna Division, for the year 1896-97, says:—"Scarcity which made itself acutely felt towards the end of the year greatly affected the material condition of the poor classes. The Commissioner is of opinion that the famine relief operations have established the fact that about three per cent. of the population are habitually on the verge of starvation, or rather would be, were it not for the intervention of private charity." This even is a rosy picture of the state of the Bihari ryot, and if the Commissioner had said that twenty-three per cent., instead of three per cent., of the people were habitually under starvation, he would have been nearer the mark!

I quote again the testimony of a high English official on this point:—"The low condition of the agricultural and labouring classes in Bihar has formed the subject of much consideration of late years. Needless to report what has often been said before as to the ignorance, indebtedness and general helplessness of the Bihari ryot. No fresh touches are added in this year's report to the melancholy picture. It is only apparently in the north-east of Shahabad and along the Soan that the ryots have anywhere got any position of comfort." Moved by the most wretched condition of the Behari ryot, Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, C.S., Commissioner of the Bhagalpore Division, wrote a pamphlet on it under the title of the "Ruin of an Indian Province." After exhaustively dealing with the subject he concluded in the following words:—"In India every servant of The Crown is not only an official in the narrower sense of the word, bound by the rules of official subordination and reticence, but a trustee of the public honour. I have written under the sincere conviction that the condition of the great Province of Bihar with its twenty millions of people is a disgrace to the English name."

With these stern facts staring us full in the face, he would indeed be a very bold man who would attempt to show a contrary state of things in Bihar. Yet no less a personage than Mr. R. C. Dutt, late of the Indian Civil Service, while sing-

ing the pæans of the Permanent Settlement, did this at Lucknow in his Presidential address at the annual convention of the Indian National Congress during the last Christmas holidays. In his otherwise excellent speech he instances Bengal as the province where the cultivators are as prosperous as can be desired, quite forgetful of the broad fact that no less than half its population is submerged in the most abysmal depth of degradation and poverty. The extracts which I have made from the Administration Reports of the Bengal Government leave no room for doubt regarding the pitiable condition of the Bihar peasantry. The shadow of famine which fell on the province of Bihar only a couple of years ago, showed how acute was the distress of the people; and, although no less than a crore of rupees was spent on relief by Government, as a matter of fact, we all know how inadequate was this sum to cope with the ravages of the famine.

I will give a few more touches to this sad picture of the Bihar cultivators by quoting the testimony of another official on the point. It is from the Administration Report of the year 1875-76 and runs as follows:—"So far, then, we may hope that the lot of a labourer, which was always very hard, has not become harder of late. But we must sorrowfully admit that it is as hard as can be borne. A plain calculation will show that the wages will suffice for little more than the purchase of food and leave a slender margin for his simplest wants. In Bihar, indeed, a comparison of prices with wages might indicate that his lot must be hard beyond comparison." It need hardly be said here that the labourers are the real cultivators of the land and their number is as large as 12·3 per cent. of the total population of the country. According to the returns of the latest census, the grand total of persons directly supported by the land comes up to more than two-thirds of the entire number of adult males. When two-thirds of the people of Bihar are steeped in poverty, it goes without saying that the condition of the ryots is as sad and wretched as it can be.

I shall add to this my own personal experience of the Bihari ryot. I was at Bihar for a short time to visit the sacred hot-water springs of Rajgir. While the solemn and sombre scenery of the surrounding hills, with their rippling rivulets and gushing springs, enchanted and delighted our mind, the concourse of famished creatures who used to come to us and beg for food made us extremely sick and sorry. Scores of these men passed their days under the shade of trees, and satisfied the cravings of nature by eating wild fruits and roots, or sometimes, at the most, by eating small fish from the river. Rajgir itself is a big pasture-ground where hundreds of thousands of kine, oxen and sheep are sent out for the purpose of

grazing, their owners being too poor to give them any food at home. The shepherds who had charge of these herds were perfect pictures of misery and starvation. Their monthly wage was from one to two rupees. After grazing the cattle for the whole day, they came back after sunset to their place of abode, which was simply a few acres of bare ground, surrounded by prickly shrubs within whose circumference lay the lean and lank beasts, they themselves occupying the centre. They took a couple of coarse *chappatis* made of *Joara*, which is the worst food for man in that part of the country, and sank down at night on the earth to sleep with simply a blanket on, shelterless and almost foodless. Nor is this all. The night was generally made hideous by the roar of the tiger which came down on the herds of cattle and carried away one or two every day.

Let me conclude my account of the condition of the Bihar peasantry by quoting the remarks of no less a personage than Sir Ashley Eden, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

He wrote—“In the report of the Commissioner of the Bhagulpore Division a lamentable account is given by the Sub-Divisional Officer of the state of things in the Barh Sub-Division, two-thirds of which is leased out in farms to non-resident speculators, while in the remaining one-third at least half the landlords also are non-resident. The terms run usually for seven years, and are only renewed on the payment of a heavy and increasing premium, which falls entirely on the ryots. The tenants are said to have no rights, to be subject to the exaction of forced labour, to illegal distraint, and to numerous illegal cesses, while the collections are made by an unscrupulous host of up-country bailiffs. There can be no doubt whatever that the combined influence of Zemindars and land speculators has ground down the ryots of Bihar to a state of extreme depression and misery.”

Is there a landlord who will read this and not blush for very shame? I think not. Sir Ashley Eden has laid the entire blame of the poverty of the Bihari ryot at the door of the landlord and the money-lender. I do not share in that opinion. There is no doubt that the ryot there is fearfully rack-rented, but it is due much more to the avarice of the State as the prime landlord than to that of the landlords themselves.

Bishop Heber referring to the conduct of the Company's Government towards the Bihar landlords writes :—“In Bihar, at least, the Zemindars had not, even yet, any real confidence in the permanence of the rate, and in fact there had been in so many instances revisions, remeasurements, re-examinations and surcharges that some degree of doubt was no doubt not unnatural. Some of the Bihar landlords had observed that they did not hear of any abatement made by the Company in those

instances where the advantage of the bargain had been notoriously on their side, while they also observed, so long as in the recent measure adopted by Mr. Adam (Collector), the Government possessed and exercised the power of taxing the raw produce of the soil to any amount they pleased in its way to market, it was of no great advantage to the landholder that the direct land-tax remained the same. That hobby-horse of Sir Charles Elliott—the Cadastral Survey—has added greatly in Bihar, even in times of famine and scarcity, to the burdens of the landlord and the misery of the ryot alike. To wring a sum of no less than two lakhs of rupees from them in such a time of distress as the last famine was anything but humane.

I will now deal with that delightful and extensive tract of country known as Chota-Nagpur, with its fine forests studded with coal mines, and its picturesque hills forming its natural boundaries on all sides. It is largely peopled by those aborigines—the Coles, the Dhangars and the Santals, who are said to have retreated before the conquering Hindoos into the hilly fastnesses situated to the south-west of Bengal. They still retain their original language, habits and superstitions, unaffected by the civilising influence of British rule. These wild tribes had been under the control of the Rajpoot landlords who had gradually got the upper hand in their country. They lived either by hunting wild animals or by cultivating their fertile lands in the primitive fashion. The Zemindars did their best to import into the country from Bengal a class of industrious farmers and improve their estates, but the rancorous hostility engendered by this course led the inhabitants to break out into open insurrection in 1832. The fields of these foreign settlers were laid waste, their hamlets burnt down and more than a thousand were slaughtered in cold blood before the authorities could send any help. The rebellion was checked only after a large body of troops with horse and artillery had been sent to the spot, and many of the insurgents shot dead. Lord William Bentinck, touched with pity, declared Chota-Nagpur a non-regulation province and abolished the cumbrous system of Bengal Regulations as totally unfit for these wild and primitive people. The present Munda rising distinctly proves the restive nature of these primitive people. Mr. Grimley, the Commissioner, speaks highly of the conduct of the Zemindars in his Administration Report of 1896. The poverty of the people is, however, admitted by all. As usual with Government officers, they blame the Zemindars for it, but we all know that it is not the latter alone, but the former also, who are to blame in the matter.

Mr. Herald, of Lohardanga writes :—"On the whole the

ryots of this district are more ground down and oppressed by their landlords than in any of the twelve districts of which I have experience. That they submit to this is due to various reasons—natural temperament, poverty, want of combination, ignorance of any better state of existence. The typical system which prevails is, to put up a village to auction among candidates for a *ticca* or temporary lease. Whilst in Government managed estates an *attempt* (!) is made to secure fair dealing to the ryots by granting the lease at a sum less than the annual rental of the village, no such restriction is observable in many of the *ticcas* granted by private Zemindars."

It is a fact, however, that the annual rental in Government estates is far higher than it is in private estates, which can easily be proved by reference to the realisation papers of both. The notorious Noabad settlement and the vigorous protest of Mr. Cotton against the unusually high assessment, are so prominently known in this country that any discussion of it here would be a useless digression from the important point with which I am dealing. How did the people fare in 1896? The Administration Reports tell us:—"While in the two first years, 1893 and 1894, the total food-supply fell short of a full supply by only 15·5 per cent., the deficiency in 1895 amounted to 31·9 per cent., and was immediately followed by a still more serious deficiency of 51·4 per cent. in 1896. It needs no demonstration to show how very seriously affected the general population must have become by the end of the second of the last two years; and at the present moment their condition has been still further impaired by the disappointing outturn of the *rabi* and *mohwa* of 1897."

The Commissioner thinks that there can be little doubt that the people were, on the whole, somewhat worse off in 1896-97 than during the famine of twenty-three years ago! He then continues: "There can also be no doubt that, owing to the scarcity in the present instance having extended to the neighbouring Tributary States and that source of supply being consequently stopped, the distress is now being more prolonged than was when the case. At the first threatening, nine months ago, prices went up to famine rates, and they have ever since, week by week, continued to rise, until now, at the time of writing, rice is selling at most places at seven to eight seers and in some at six seers and under per rupee."

Two more quotations from the Administration Report of 1896, and I have done with Chota Nagpore:—

"In many places, I fear, from the reports I receive, that they have eaten their seed grain; and the fact has been noticed by more than one officer that a great part of the lands which usually grow transplanted rice have this year been sown broad-

cast, the cultivator not having the means to pay for field-labour. The field labourers, under the "Kamia" system which here obtains, are ordinarily fed throughout the year by the better-to-do cultivators and others who employ them. This year they have been deprived, in a great measure, of this support, while the beggars have realised the truth of the proverb that "Charity begins at home" and find their customary alms wanting!"

The distress of all the little children of the poor was most acute. The Commissioner writes:—"There has, I fear, in many places been great neglect of their small children by adult relations amongst the lower classes, extending not unfrequently to robbing them of the charitable doles they had received at the relief centres, and turning them adrift to pick up food for themselves in the jungles."

It is interesting to read the language of the following Administration Report, where one finds a pathetic vein of humour running through the last sentence.

"The people appear on the whole to be in a better plight, while the members on the relief works and the gratuitous lists have, week after week, remained at a remarkably low figure, and this notwithstanding the fact that, in view of the high prices, the rates of payment were for some time fixed at a higher level there than elsewhere. One explanation of this is the praiseworthy manner in which most of the Zemindars have come forward to assist their ryots by giving them work; but another, and I think probably the chief reason is to be found in the large extent to which the people are accustomed to supplement their ordinary food by recourse to the forest roots and fruits with which almost all parts of the district abound!"

No better illustration of the apathy of our officials to the people could be given.

Having done with Chota Nagpore, I shall now give a description of the ryots of Orissa. Although the Permanent Settlement is popularly said to have been made with reference to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, it was really made with the exclusion of the latter province, save and except Cuttack. The poverty of the Urya ryot is due principally to the repeatedly enhanced assessments of land revenue by Government. At every fresh assessment the screw is applied more and more tightly until it has assumed a gigantic proportion. Excluding the Tributary Mahals of Angul, the province has to pay a sum of about twenty-three lakhs of rupees as land revenue including cesses.

The poverty of the ryot of Orissa is so notorious that even the Administration Reports make no secret of it. There never was born a people so miserable and so overwhelmed with debt, as the Uryas.

I shall content myself with quotations from the Administration Reports only. The Divisional Commissioner writes :—

"Nevertheless the majority of the cultivators are in debt and always remain in debt to the *Mahajan*. They borrow paddy from village granaries, pay off with high interest after the harvest, and have to borrow again after they have consumed the surplus. Mr. Nogendra Nath Bannerjee, in his excellent Agricultural Report on Cuttack, published in 1893 estimated that seventy-five per cent. of the agriculturists remained almost always in debt. My predecessor in para. 58 of the last Administration Report estimated the proportion to be 50 per cent. Mr. J. N. Gupta has made a careful enquiry into this important matter in 11 villages of his sub-division, and has found that out of 556 tenants no less than 370, i.e., about 70 per cent. of the tenants were in debt."

The Commissioner thus explains the chronic poverty of the Urya ryot :—

"The true explanation of this chronic poverty of 70 per cent. of cultivators seems to be this, that they have always been in the habit of getting indebted. The easy-going Urya cultivator is less assiduous in bettering his condition and freeing himself from the grasp of the *mahajan* than the ordinary Bengali cultivator. So long as he has his land, he has credit with the *mahajan*, and he sees no reason why he should not borrow when he wants, and pay off when he can."

If you wish to see slavery in full swing on British soil, you have only to go to Orissa and mark the abject poverty and degradation reached by the *halias*. You have simply to cast a glance at the Administration Report in order to convince yourself of the real truth of the matter. "In paras. 63 and 64 of the last Annual Report, some mention was made of a class of farm labourers called the *halias*, who are said to remain in a condition of semi-slavery. The *halia* is a willing bondsman who borrows at the time of distress and offers to pay by personal service, which he seldom succeeds in doing."

Mr. J. N. Gupta, the sub-divisional officer, thus describes the way in which the hard lot of the *halia* can be relieved :— "The real obstacle which stands in the way of the *halias* regaining their personal freedom is the most exorbitant interest which is charged on the money that is advanced to these men. It is generally much more than the miserable pittance of Rs. 12 or Rs. 15, which they get as an annual salary."

The Collector of Balasore wrote sometime ago regarding the stress of poverty in that district as follows :—"I have known many cases where a family ate food once in two days and no members of that family had more than one garment."

A civilian who occupied a very high position in the service

says that a Urya ryot who may be said to be most prosperous will be lucky if he saves, in the course of the year, twenty rupees out of his income, which at the most is rupees fifty-seven.


He then goes on to say:—"This is the picture of the ryot in moderately fair circumstances. But what of the man in the lowest grade of poverty? What of the man who tills with borrowed bullocks his little patch of one or two acres, whose wife, clad in one filthy rag, scarcely sufficient for decency, labours for unwomanly tasks through the long day to add a few farthings to the scanty store, and who, bent with fatigue, and prematurely old from want and exposure, may be seen at night-fall picking the tasteless leaves of wild spinach from the margin of the fetid tank to eke out the unwholesome meal of coarse rice which must suffice her and her starving family? Not even the squalid hut, with its forlorn inhabitants, escapes the lynx eye of the *piyada* (Cess-Collector). They must pay their quota to swell the flowing stream of extortion; there is the lean cow, sell that and pay; there is one brass drinking vessel, he will take that in lieu of the demand."

It remains now for me to deal with the ryots of Bengal Proper. Bengal is without doubt the wealthiest, the most advanced, and the most populous province of the Empire. It is here, if anywhere, that we expect to find the blessings of British rule shine out with the most brilliant lustre. Laws which are to govern twenty-four millions of Indian subjects for their welfare and well-being are promulgated and passed first in Bengal, and then introduced into the rest of the country, after sufficient experiment. But it is to be regretted that even here, while other classes of Her Majesty's subjects have advanced in wealth and prosperity, the landlord and the ryot have not done so in a proportionate degree. Still the condition of the ryot is far better here than in other parts of the country. Here, in Lower Bengal, he can, in times of prosperity, with the help of seasonable showers and sunshine, successfully keep the wolf from the door. He is above that pinching poverty which has made the Bihari and Urya ryot the most miserable being on the face of the earth. But in seasons of scarcity he suffers like the others. It is, however, in East Bengal that he is really prosperous and independent. He lives there in his own cottage, neatly built of bamboos and wattle, well thatched and raised on a firm foundation of well-beaten clay. It is shaded by trees and has often a garden adjoining, dense with foliage and heavy with fruit. Living in his own house, he cares not a two-pence for his landlord, with whom he is often on terms of deadly hostility. Ordinarily the ryot of East Bengal cultivates his own land, casts his net in the brooks, and demands nothing beyond peace and fine weather.

It is a well-recognised fact that the most prosperous ryot in Bengal is the ryot of Backergunge. If you wish to see the finest specimen of the Bengal peasant, go there. It is the granary of Lower Bengal and the *El Dorado* of the Bengal ryot. All the first class rice which goes by the name of *Balam Chul*, the staple food of the cream of Calcutta Babudom, is imported from Backergunge.

How prosperous the Backergunge ryots are will be manifest from the following Administration Reports of 1896, a year of great scarcity throughout the country. Mr. N. D. Beatson, Bell, Officiating Collector of Backergunge, reports;—

"Rice now sells at 10 seers 8 chitaks per rupee. The great bulk of the population being agricultural is even now in great prosperity; at this moment we are probably the best fed district in India. Zamindars are collecting full rents, and ryots are squandering their money in temporary luxuries which abound in every market. I am only afraid that the high prices have tempted the peasantry into excessive sale of food grains. A few months on they may find themselves with insufficient grain for feeding themselves and sowing their fields; while their money will be mostly spent, and the price of grain perhaps higher than ever. The people of this district are delightfully imprudent. Blessed with a luxuriant soil, they live from hand to mouth as confident as Mr. Micawber that something will turn up."

Their great prosperity mainly depends on this rice trade. Rice grows all over the district, and is exported in large country boats to Calcutta and the neighbouring districts of Dacca and Faridpur. The outturn in the year 1896 was about 1,73,25,800 maunds, against 1,33,56,000 maunds in the previous year. The price rose to Rs. 4-6 in 1896 from Rs. 3-13 in 1895. Betelnuts also grow in the homestead land of almost all classes of people in this district and are largely exported to Calcutta and elsewhere in large country boats and steamers. The bulk of the export, however, goes to Burmah, where it is highly esteemed by the Mugs. The cocoanut, too, abounds all over the district and is largely exported to other parts of Bengal. In 1896 the export was about 5,00,000. Mymensingh appears to be the most lightly assessed district in the whole of Bengal. The ryots are fairly well-off, although their condition was put to a severe strain during the last famine. Although the majority of the people of this district follow the faith of the prophet, there are not more than a couple of large zemindars who are Mahomedans. The mass of the population are agriculturists, and over a crore of rupees yearly come into the pockets of such of them as are growers and sellers of the single article of  district.

The district of Dacca forms the most go-ahead portion of East Bengal, the city itself being renowned as the ancient capital in Mahomedan times. In this district the tenants generally hold land directly from the landlords, the middleman being rare. The prosperity of the ryots is therefore assured. Mr. L. P. Shirres, Collector of Dacca, thus writes in 1896 about the material condition of the people:—

“The people of this district are exceedingly well-off, chiefly owing to the low rates of rent prevailing, and to the waterways throughout the district. They have also enriched considerably in recent years by the introduction of jute. They were therefore able to withstand the high prices of food grains during the year under review without exhibiting any special signs of distress. The condition of the trading classes and artisans is prosperous.”

Faridpur is famous for its very numerous sub-infeudations of zemindaris, which extend to six or seven at times. The Administration Reports show that even in Eastern Bengal the condition of the ryots is not always good. But this is the exception rather than the rule. I quote what Mr. J. H. Temple remarks regarding the district of Faridpur in his report of 1896:—

“Like its predecessor, the year 1896-1897 began amidst plenty and prosperity; but owing to deficient rainfall and an abnormally low flood, the outturn of the rice crop was poor, and in some parts of the district the people fared badly..... When the year opened, ordinary rice sold at 14 seers per rupée; this price gradually rose, and it was selling at 9 seers when the year closed. This abnormally high price of rice, and the partial failure of the spring crops, have no doubt caused hardship, and in some parts of the district, especially in the Goalundo subdivision, scarcity has been reported.”

The material condition of the people of the Chittagong division cannot be said to be good. The Administration Report of 1896 says:—“Insufficient and unsatisfactorily distributed rainfall, and bad harvests for two successive years, told heavily on the material condition of the people of the division. The poorer classes of cultivators fared badly, and the labouring classes had much difficulty in finding work. While almost famine prices ruled in the market, the wages of labour remained stationary, the condition of the middle classes was almost as bad, many of them having become involved in debt. Mr. Kennedy is of opinion that the real reason of the scarcity of food in his district is the very large quantity of land given up to jute. In Noakhali, in addition to the drought, people had to face a series of other reverses?”

The Magistrate of Noakhali writes in 1896:—

"The state of things in the district has been rather unusual for the last four years. In 1893-94 there were serious inundations from very excessive rainfall, the mischief caused by which was immensely aggravated by the terrible cyclone of October 1893. Fortunately, the people had a little respite the next year, the crops of 1894-95 having been very good. The year following was not very prosperous, indeed one of less than average prosperity. The rains began late and ceased early. The *aus* was less than an average harvest, and the *aman*, the principal crop of the district, considerably more so, and the cyclone of 3rd October 1895 made matters seriously worse. Insect pests appeared in many places. The ryots, already reduced, were in bad straits. But, if the rainfall of 1895-96 was scanty and unfavourable, that of the year under report was more unfavourable still."

The Sylhet ryots enjoy the peculiar fortune of having the most absolute rights in the land, and resemble closely the peasant-proprietors of Europe. They have no landlord to account to. Nowhere in India do the commonest ryots enjoy such luxuries as fish and fruit to the same extent as in Sylhet. They cultivate their little patches of ground and mostly grow orange trees on them.

The Presidency and Burdwan divisions are admittedly the richest and most cultured portion of the Province. The present reign of law—nowhere more supreme than in these divisions—has, however, done much to destroy the friendly feeling that used to exist in former days between the Zemindar and the ryot, and to substitute for it continual litigation for the establishment of the legal rights of property. The high prices of corn and jute have put money into the pockets of the ryots of these divisions and much improved their condition. It is stated that some years ago it was not unusual to find even tolerably substantial ryots living on one meal a day; now they have two, many taking a small meal of cold rice, salt and onions early in the morning. So far as food is concerned, the average ryot cannot be said to be badly off in a prosperous year. During the last scarcity in 1876, the Collector of Hooghly writes, "in several parts of the district, cultivators and men on small salaries, including the police, were reduced to short rations."

In Birbhum and Bankura the failure of crops was extensive, and there was a good deal of suffering. In the latter district relief works had to be opened.

The Rajshahi division fared as badly, during the last scarcity, as the Presidency and the Burdwan divisions.

Perhaps nowhere is the condition of the ryots worse than in the Government *Khas* mahals. There the rent-roll has in-

creased by rapid bounds and the number of certificates Government has to issue, even with all its power and prestige, is much larger in proportion than the number of suits for arrears of rent instituted by private landholders. For instance, in the Palamau khas mahal the rental twenty years ago was Rs. 57,000. By the new settlement the Government has increased it to Rs. 74,000, or to more than a third of the original rental; while the rental in the estates of private landlords has increased only a fifth within the same period. This wretched state of the tenants in Government Estates is apparent from a perusal of the Administration Reports of the Khas Mahals. Thus we read in the reports of 1896:—In Bankura the ryots are in straitened circumstances and in 24 Purgannahs the Bonamalipor ryots supported themselves by illicit manufacture of salt. In Murshidabad their condition has been everywhere bad owing to poor outturn of crops. The ryots suffered similarly in Khulna, Darjeeling, Dacca and Mymensingh.

Conclusion.

I think that from what I have said above and from the testimony of Government Officials themselves it will be clear that the position of the generality of the ryots is anything but satisfactory. The ryots are prosperous in the 24 Purgannahs and suburban districts of the Presidency Division, where they generally enjoy fixed rents, and also in East Bengal, where through intelligence, industry and force of circumstances they have successfully asserted their independence. Elsewhere in Bengal Proper they manage to keep life and soul together when crops are abundant, but suffer during years of scarcity.

In Orissa and Bihar the condition of the peasantry is one of deep indebtedness and poverty. It is equally bad in Chota-Nagpur.

The picture of the French peasantry drawn by that exact and most impartial observer La Bruyere two hundred years ago will apply at this day to our cultivators of Bihar and, perhaps, of Orissa. These are his words:—"You see certain wild animals, males and females, about the land, dark, livid, naked, and all burnt with the sun, bound to the soil, which they dig and stir with an unflagging patience. They seem to articulate words, and when they stand up they show a human face, and, indeed, they are none other than men; at night they retire to their dens, where they feed on black bread, water, and roots. They save other men the trouble of sowing, digging, and reaping, and deserve not to lack of that bread which they have grown."

The question naturally arises as to the main cause of this poverty. If the excessive land revenue and cesses with which

Government has assailed landlord and tenant alike, added to the Zemindar's consequently large demands, have not impoverished the ryot, I do not know what has. Much may, no doubt, be said of the ryots' ignorance. Education, which has been making such rapid strides amongst the respectable and well-to-do natives of Bengal, has not touched in the same proportion even the skirts of the peasant and the poorer classes. While the country has been filled with hundreds of half-educated graduates and under-graduates, whom the Government cannot provide with employment and whose ambition is as boundless as the sea, there can hardly be found two in a hundred amongst the poor agriculturists and artisans who can read and write. Sir Alfred Croft, late Director of Public Instruction, has left his deliberate opinion that for the purpose of making any sensible progress in primary education, Government ought to spend at least ten lakhs of rupees more every year than it is doing at present. The yearly Administration Reports ring with one uniform complaint that for want of funds mass education is in a most backward state. The latest statistics on the point show that only 1·5 per cent. of the poor get primary education in our village schools. The Education Committee of Bengal wrote strongly to the effect that the advancing requirements of the country demand an increased expenditure on that head on the part of Government. Lord Ripon in his Convocation speech, at the Senate Hall, in 1882 referred to the dangers of the situation in these words: "We have now in India as the result of the spread of middle and higher instruction an educated class increasing in numbers from year to year, but still a mere handful when compared with the great mass of the people, for whom the means even of the most rudimentary instruction are very limited, and of whom a very large proportion are not brought within the civilizing influence of the school at all. This does not seem to me to be a healthy state of things. It is not desirable in any country to have a small, highly educated class brought into contact with a large uneducated mass; what is wanted is, that instruction should be more equally distributed, that the artisans and peasants of the land should have brought within their reach such opportunities for the cultivation of their faculties as may be possible under the circumstances of their condition, and that there should be no sharp line drawn between the educated few and the ignorant and the untrained many."

This neglect of primary education is of so culpable a character on the part of Government that no excuse can justify its conduct. Lord Curzon admitted it to some extent in his last convocation speech, from which I quote the following:—

Primary Education can never lose its priority of claim upon the interest and support of the State. For that Government would but imperfectly discharge its duties which while it provided for the relatively intelligent and literate minority, ignored its obligation to the vast amorphous and unlettered mass of the population, and left it to lie in contented ignorance. We have recently called the attention of the Local Governments to their duty in this respect, which appears, in some cases, to have been disregarded.

That it is the primary duty of Government to impart such instruction, is now admitted by all shades of politicians and statesmen. Leave the multitude uninstructed, and there is serious risk that religious animosities, like the Benares and cow ryots and the Tallah ryots of late, and the Kol and Mundah insurrections of the present day, will repeat their sad tale and produce serious disorders in the heart of populous and flourishing towns—nay in the heart of the metropolis itself. Nothing in this world is better calculated to protect the interests of the ryots than education. It will deal a death-blow to the baneful consequences of prejudices and superstitions; and make them more independent and self-reliant. It is now an established principle of social science that education tends to diminish crime as well as pauperism. I doubt whether any Government that has not imparted the rudimentary knowledge that is essentially necessary for the well-being, of the poorer classes of the people, is justified on moral grounds in rendering them amenable to a harsh penal code of laws. In 1880 the Famine Commissioners, speaking of the people of North Bihar, described them as “a tenantry very ignorant, very helpless, sunk in the most abject poverty,” while again in 1882 the Government of India, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, remarked that “evidence before us of the depressed and precarious condition of the people in that part of the country is full and conclusive.” As far as Chota-Nagpur is concerned the Famine Commissioners said: “About two-thirds of the population subsist on agriculture and about one-sixth are unskilled labourers, known locally as *hamias*, who are practically serfs. They are specially numerous in Manbhoom.”

Mr. R. C. Dutt's statement in his Presidential address at the last sitting of the Indian National Congress, to the effect that the average rent which the Zemindar gets in Bengal is not more than a sixth of the gross produce of the land and that the share of the Government is far less, seems so egregiously wrong that I cannot allow it to go unchallenged. I shall test this generalisation by the touchstone of facts. Every student of the history of the Permanent Settlement knows full well that the Government took at that time 45 per cent., the Zemindar and under-renters only 15 per cent. and the cultivators 40 per cent. of the crops. This is exactly Sir John Shore's

estimation, and it is fully corroborated by Mr. Buchanan and a host of authorities on the subject. The Fifth Report puts the State proportion at three-fifths in fully settled lands, leaving the cultivators two-fifths (Vol. I-18). Any argument in contravention of these statements seems to me quite unsound. To argue from the present state of things in Bengal that what amount the Government *now* takes as the share of the crops, is the standard of assessment, is simply preposterous. It was determined once for all during the Permanent Settlement, and the Zemindars have since spent crores of rupees in the purchase and improvement of their estates and the ryots have worked and laboured assiduously for the extension of cultivation throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. But Mr. R. C. Dutt's contention falls to the ground even if the present proportion of Government revenue and Zemindar's rent to the outturn of crops be taken into account. I shall select the most prosperous district of Bengal, Backergunge, as an example. In 1895 the total outturn of crops there was 204 lakhs of maunds, the value of which amounts to 204 lakhs of rupees, making the average price of crops at a rupee per maund. The Government revenue and Cesses come up to about 17 lakhs and the rental of the landlords and under-renters to nearly 48 lakhs of rupees. This rental is therefore clearly a fourth of the entire outturn of the crops. In a year of scarcity this proportion may come up to as much as a third of the crops. In Bihar the ryot gets but $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of the produce. But when Mr. Dutt says with an air of triumph that the landlord's demand of rent should be limited to a sixth of the gross produce in Bengal, he appears to me going perilously near Mr. Parnell and promulgating like him a gospel of sheer blunder! I am, however, at one with him when he says that the boon of the Permanent Settlement should be extended to other parts of the country for the good of the Zemindar and ryot alike. Mr. Dutt is so good and well-meaning a gentleman that it is with great reluctance I animadvert on him in this article.

The prosperity of a people is indicated by the amount of their savings. Judged by this standard—the only standard put forward by political economists to gauge the condition of a people—the ryot of this country will be found very very poor indeed, grovelling in the deepest mire of poverty and indebtedness. The condition of the Irish tenantry is proverbial in the United Kingdom for its wretchedness and degradation; yet the picture of it drawn twenty years ago by one of the greatest English statesmen of the age, and one who had the greatest sympathy for Irish Home-rule, is, in comparison with that of the Indian ~~ryot~~ prosperity itself.

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech on the State of Ireland, at Leeds, in October 7th, 1881, made the following remarks:—"Let me look at the farming class, which, as you know, may be said almost to constitute the body of the nation, understood as the term is understood in Ireland. Let me look at the indication of their surplus wealth. Forty years ago the deposits in the Irish banks, which are the indication of the amount of their free savings, were about five millions. Some fifteen years later than that, I think they had risen to some eleven or twelve millions. There are now of deposits in the Irish banks, which represent almost wholly the honest earnings and savings of Irish farmers, a sum of nearly thirty millions of money."

Shall I give you now an idea as to the accumulated wealth of our Indian agriculturists? You may ransack the records of the Postal Savings Banks, and I dare say you will hardly find a single farthing to their credit there.

The *London Times* says, "we see a succession of famines in India, and we ask ourselves whether, apart from the calamities of nature and the disregard of all prudential checks on marriage, among a purely agricultural peasantry, other causes may not be at work." The answer to this query, is that the excessive and ever-increasing taxation of the land, together with the extortionate charges for Court-fees, stamp-fees, process-fees and pleader's fees, is mainly responsible for this most sad and deplorable state of things. The land-taxes and law charges for realising rents which add about 30 per cent. to the onerous demands on the ryot, take the life out of him in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred. If the condition of the ryot is as bad as that described in this article, in the permanently settled province of Bengal, where a class of educated and enlightened landlords are ever ready and willing to help him with their liberality and munificence, what is likely to be his state ryots elsewhere, where no such security as the Perpetual Settlement of Bengal exists, and where, at the end of every thirty years, the revenue assessments are squeezed up to the highest point, unmindful of the baneful influence they will have on landlords and tenants alike. The question raised by the *London Times* is the question of questions of the day. The famines which come in quick succession, year after year, in this country, are due principally to excessive assessment of land revenue, aggravated though they are by natural calamities such as flood or drought.

Let me conclude this article by describing in a few words the present condition of the landlord class. This condition is not an enviable one. The tremendous blow of the sunset law falls on their shoulders. The law's delay, on the other hand, puts them to a great disadvantage and they cannot pay

the Government revenue by speedy realization of rents. The result is that most of them are steeped in debt. If statistics were taken to-day of the indebtedness of the Zemindar's class, I think hardly twenty per cent. would be found fully solvent, and barely ten per cent. in a flourishing condition. The poverty of the land-holding class of Bengal will be clearly demonstrated if their income is compared for a moment with that of English and Irish landlords.

The valued rack-rent of England and Wales in 1810 was, as returned by the Commissioners of Taxes, £29,352,301, and the rental in 1873, £99,352,301. The rental in the permanently settled provinces of Bengal was about twelve crores of rupees in the year 1876, and is sixteen crores of rupees at present. The English landlords pay about two million sterling as land-tax and a million as tithe. Deducting the three million sterling from the rental of the English landlords, there is thus left a balance of twenty-six and ninety-six millions sterling as their incomes for the years 1810 and 1873 respectively. The income of the Bengal land-holders, assuming the Road Cess valuation to be correct, is, after deducting, for revenue and cesses, five crores of rupees from their rental, about seven and nine crores of rupees for the years 1876 and 1898 respectively. It will be seen that in 1876 the English landlords were about thirteen times as rich as their poorer brethren of Bengal. Yet I have not taken into account the falling price of silver in this comparison, which will really make the English landlords immensely richer in comparison than I have said. In 1810, about a century ago, they were more than three times as rich as our Zemindars of the present day. In England the old title of "the upper ten" still represents the ten thousand millionaire landlords, who own almost the entire land of the kingdom, while our richest land-holders of that description will hardly come up to fifty individuals in all. In former days landholders were always held in high respect by the officials, and were naturally animated by a very strong sense of devotion and loyalty towards the Government. It has been the pride and privilege of the Zemindar body to have been always remarkable for upholding the dignity of the law and the Government of British India.

The loyalty of the Bengal Zemindars was strikingly exemplified during the Sepoy Mutiny. Their solicitude and anxiety for the security and integrity of the British Empire need no demonstration just now. The Town Hall meeting at Calcutta, in aid of the Mansion House Fund, testifies it in the strongest and most convincing manner.

ICH DIEN.

ART. VII.—THE ANTI-RUSSIAN CONSPIRACY IN TURKESTAN.

Last year will be remembered as a time of cyclic change, when Germany, Russia, and England firmly fixed themselves on the mainland of China; when the Phillippines, with their ten millions of Asiatic inhabitants, passed under the dominion of the United States; when, after four centuries of rule, the Spanish power rolled back from the Western hemisphere; when the vast dominion of the Sudan, for years given up to wild and barbarous tyranny, was once more won by the English masters of Egypt. It will also be remembered as the year of a most formidable attack on Russian supremacy in Central Asia, a conspiracy equal, in fanatical spirit and potential results, to the great Indian Mutiny.

Many points about this conspiracy are still quite obscure, and the investigations and prosecutions which flowed out of it, are still uncompleted; but enough is already known to make a fairly consecutive and intelligible story of what took place. The startling feature about the whole story is, that, after a quarter of a century of peace and great prosperity, acknowledged even by the leaders of the conspiracy themselves; after twenty-five years of steady progress under Russia, a vast and determined combination, including tens of thousands of the chief inhabitants, could be boldly conceived, quietly matured, and daringly brought to the very eve of execution, without the faintest visible ripple on the surface, to warn the Russians of what was coming.

We first catch sight of the conspirators, when their plans are on the eve of completion. A vast underground propaganda had been carried on for months, perhaps for years, and the latent fires of fanaticism were ready to burst into flame. Turkestan, with Samarcand, Tashkent, and Khiya as its chief cities, had long been a stronghold of the Mussulman religion; and the Mahommedan spirit of militant faith. A special mantle of sanctity had spread over Bokhara, which, for a large division of the Mussulman world, was a more holy place than even Mecca itself. The spirit which inspired the devotees of Turkestan, is best understood by a comparison with the zeal of the old Hebrew prophets, with their unworldly and fiery devotion to an ideal law of righteousness, their passionate love for national tradition, their recognition of every event in their past history as a visible interposition of Deity, choosing them from among all peoples to declare the divine

will to the nations, and, if need be, execute that will by the sword. The fervid and fiery passion of the Semitic peoples burned as brightly in Turkestan before the Russian conquest, as it did in Jerusalem in the age of the Captivities.

The flames were covered up, not extinguished, by the advance of the Russian armies from the borders of the Siberian steppes. Thirty-four years ago, General Chernaieff won the first signal victory against the old Khans of Turkestan; when Tashkent fell into his hands and was added to the dominions of Alexander II. The next year saw the arms of Russia advance up the Syr Darya to Kodajent, and two years later, Samarcand, great Tamerlane's capital, a city once taken by Alexander the Great, fell before the northern invader. Twenty-six years ago, Khiva was reduced to the position of a feudal dependency, and in March 1876 the last act of the drama was completed, by the annexation of Kokand, as the province of Ferghana, thus turning the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya into Russian rivers.

Then came railways, electric transport, steamboats, mills, factories, and all the arts of peace; and, during quarter of a century, the wealth of the country greatly increased. But the fires of fanaticism still burned as fiercely as ever underneath the quiet surface. Large sums were collected from the wealthy Mussulmans, and emissaries went abroad through all the khanates, calling on the inhabitants to make ready, for a blow was to be struck for Allah and the Prophet. How the actual band of warriors to whom the execution of the first part of the drama was entrusted, was organised, is not yet clearly understood; but on the afternoon of the thirtieth of May last, an army of a thousand horse and a thousand foot was actually drawn up, under the green banner of the Prophet, in the open sandy plain which leads to Andijan, the remotest of the Russian outposts towards the Chinese frontier.

The two thousand men were well organised, divided into companies and centuries, under duly appointed officers; one commander was at the head of the horse, another had supreme control of the foot, and a group of chiefs round Ishan, the leader of the rebellion, controlled the whole development of the conspiracy. The conspirators were well armed, but with cold steel alone. The leaders had determined to attack Andijan because it was the weakest of the Russian garrisons; they foresaw that success at the outset would vastly strengthen their position, and let loose the elements of popular discontent, which would soon swell their army for further and more formidable undertakings. So they bent their utmost efforts to the attainment of success from the very first.

To secure all the elements of success, they decided to attack

the Russian barracks in Andijan by night, and, for a night attack against well-armed and thoroughly disciplined troops, they saw that, to guard against premature discovery, it would be well to dispense with fire-arms altogether; since a single accidental shot would alarm the Russian regiments, and frustrate their undertaking before it was well begun. So the two thousand troops, evenly divided into cavalry and infantry, halted at the village of Kuli a few miles from Andijan. There Ishan invoked the supreme blessing of the Prophet by a gruesome and horrible ceremony, which served to kindle the fanaticism of his followers to the flashing point, while it definitely cut them loose from Russian law.

Trusting to the security which years of peace had brought, a Russian merchant named Bytchkoff had established a warehouse and a house and garden in the village of Kuli, just as English planters have their factories in hundreds of lonely and outlying nooks in British India. This merchant had in no way offended the Mussulmans, nor was it pretended that they had any enmity against him. Nevertheless he was dragged from his house by the officers of Ishan, brought into the presence of the assembled conspirators, and beheaded without the faintest show of trial or even accusation. He was a Russian, and Russian blood was needed for the ceremony of blessing the standard. The head of the unfortunate merchant, as it fell in the sand, was caught by the hair, and waved over the great green banner, laid for that purpose on the earth. His blood streaked the green banner, and the conspirators, looking on, called on Allah to protect them, to further their plan, and strike through them for the establishment of the Law.

Still massed together, the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on the wings, the troops of Ishan moved on towards Andijan. All were armed with swords and knives of Bokharan or Damascus steel, the splendid weapons which are the true emblems of Mahomet's faith. They had tasted blood, and were burning with a single desire to fight and slay for their religion. The Russian barracks were at some distance from the native quarters of the city. Ishan's two thousand men entered the native town at nightfall, and for some hours lay hid among the houses and gardens of the faithful there, not a breath of their coming meanwhile reaching the Russian troops. This is a startling revelation of the real attitude of the East towards the West; of the sincerity of that gratitude which, we are assured, the Orientals feel for the blessings of prosperity we have conferred on them. The truth being that this very prosperity, and the sensual luxuries which follow in its wake, are added offences in the eyes of the religious and zealous elements in all Oriental religions.

The precise numbers of the Russian garrison in Andijan are not made public, as they are amongst the secrets of the Turkestan staff; but there were apparently about four or five hundred Russian soldiers, chiefly, if not entirely, infantry, in the four barracks of the Russian fortified camp. We next see the conspirators, about midnight, gathered at the gates of the barracks. Within, all is silent; the Russian soldiers are asleep, secure in the dream of twenty-five years' peace. Their sentinels have, so far, caught no glimpse of the throng of desperate fanatics, gathered outside in the darkness, their long keen blades drawn and ready. The cavalry, as before, are on their wings, and the infantry, a thousand in number, in the centre. They whisper the battle cry of Allah, and that terrible whisper throbs through the air, more dreadful than any articulate voice.

A space of three hundred paces separates them from the barracks. Entering the enclosure, they cross it in about ninety seconds, and are already at the doors, and still no alarm has been given. They have passed the trenches of the sappers, evidently carefully observed beforehand, without noise or accident, and the Russian soldiers are still asleep within. Then, in a moment, all is confusion and wild uproar. They are swarming into the barracks with their drawn swords, cutting at the sleeping soldiers in the darkness. The details of that struggle are unknown, but the Russians did not for an instant give way to panic, or even hesitation and uncertainty. They were at their foes with rifle and bayonet, within a few seconds of the first attack, and cries and the clash of steel were now mingled with the flash of firearms and the whistle of bullets.

A single fact, which came out in a quite formal investigation of the accoutrements of the troops, is more eloquent than all else of the real incidents of the next few minutes. The Russian troops had been supplied with a new rifle, the stock of which was made of birch. It was testified by the soldiers that, while the new gun "worked fairly well," the stocks "were too light for Asiatic heads," splitting and splintering during the struggle, while the bayonets in more than one case were bent, "especially when used against horses," and several of them broke off in the wounds. These are the vivid touches that show the reality of war, with the pageantry stripped off, and the writhing human bodies laid bare. Nor did the conspirators fight less desperately. Another little fact, from quite another quarter, this time a hospital inspection, lifts the curtains of night from those wild moments of combat. A Russian soldier in hospital had two severe wounds on his head, the skull being fractured in two

places ; there were several deep gashes in his arms and legs ; and he was pierced through the breast. The general officer inspecting the hospital asked him how his wounds were progressing :

"All that does not matter, your Excellency ; but look at my nose ; the devils have cut it off, and everyone will make fun of me." But the probability is, that this nameless flotsam of the tide of conquest never left the hospital except as a surgical subject, and so escaped the banter which he feared for his disfigured face.

While wounds like these were being dealt, in the noise and tumult, in the darkness seamed only by the red flashes of the rifles, an old Mullah with a long white beard was calmly standing in the midst of the insurgents, reading from the Koran in a loud and resonant voice, and the group of warriors round him looked for the momentary coming of "a wind from God" to strike the Infidels with death. But the wind came not, and the Infidels continued to fire on the rebels. And now it was seen that a grave mistake had been committed in concentrating the attack of the whole two thousand against only one of the four barracks ; for the other three barracks were speedily aroused by the firing, and, in a moment, were adding their fire to that of the barrack first attacked. The crowding of the rebels, giving them no room to use their sword-arms, was also a result of this concentration. This confusion, and the outflanking by the other Russian troops which it led to, were among the main causes of Ishan's failure ; yet it is easy to see how he would be justified in keeping his troops together, as otherwise a simultaneous attack by night would have been tenfold more difficult.

Amid the firing and slashing, the rebels began to fall one upon the other, writhing with bullet and bayonet wounds. They quailed before the steady volleys of the Russian soldiers, and the absence of firearms on their side was rapidly turning their reverse into a panic. We have seen how the leaders had limited their arms to cold steel, to the end of securing perfect silence, and also how perfectly that object was achieved. They did not, however, declare their intention openly to their men, but said they acted by inspiration, and that the special favour of Allah would be manifested in the victory of the sword even over the rifles of the Infidels. Further, they supplied their soldiers with consecrated staves, saying that these would protect them from even the slightest wounds. When the dead began to fall among the soldiers of Ishan, and the Russians poured their merciless fire in among them, a sudden panic and revulsion of superstition set in, the Nemesis of the false promises with which their leaders had fed them ; and in fifteen

minutes from the first attack, they were already beaten back, and their cause was lost. The leaders had seen that the whole war depended on a first brilliant success ; the first effort was a failure, and the fight was lost before it was begun.

The Russian troops, quite ignorant of the numbers of their opponents, and knowing nothing of the position of affairs outside, or of the extent to which the natives of Andijan might be ready to aid the rebels, did not follow up their first victory ; and the rebels escaped into the fields, under cover of the darkness. This was a tactical fault ; for a rally might very well have been fatal to the Russians, if, as was perfectly possible, the first attackers had bands of riflemen in reserve. But the Russians cannot seriously be blamed for this omission, as they had no cavalry ready, and were quite ignorant of the nature and numbers of the attacking party. The rebels carried off a number of their dead, but left thirty-one bodies lying in the open space before the barrack. Of these, seventeen had fallen by bayonet-wounds, while fourteen were pierced by bullets ; and this is probably a fairly accurate index of the relative numbers to be assigned to the " cold " and " hot " weapons, as the Russians call them. But the most deadly weapon had still to do its work.

It is still impossible to say why the attack of the rebels was not renewed ; nor is it clear, from the meagre accounts accessible, what exactly happened the morning after this first disastrous failure. Probably the rebels attempted flight, leaving their wounded in Andijan ; though the presence of the latter would be a grave menace to the safety of the inhabitants, who would be at once implicated, as accessory after the fact, in the rebellion. Pursuit, which the Russians certainly organised at the first appearance of dawn, doubtless overtook the foot-soldiers, the cavalry perhaps dispersing ; and in many cases escaping altogether. However, this may be,—and it is quite possible that the Turkestan Government will keep its own counsel on the matter,—it is clear that, during the next few weeks, many arrests were made, including that of Ishan himself, the leader of this marvellously organised, but desperately ended attack on the Russian power.

The Russian soldiers stated that they were far less excited at the first onslaught, and during the bloody hand-to-hand struggle which immediately followed, than in the lull and silence which came after the first storm. Then a wave of emotion burst over them, which was a physical reaction of the nerves, and had nothing in common with fear ; and their hands trembled so that they could hardly hold their rifles, while any steady aiming was altogether out of the question. About forty of their guns were slashed and splashed with blood, bearing

all the marks of a sanguinary hand-to-hand fight, waged with all the fierceness of fanaticism on the one side, and all the trained courage of well-disciplined troops, on the other.

The grave danger which for a few hours overhung the power of Russia in Turkestan, can hardly be exaggerated. The numbers of warriors by birth and fanatical fighters by religious conviction amongst the inhabitants of Turkestan proper is very great. When Chernaieff took Tashkent, an army of thirty thousand was opposed to him. Forty thousand fought for the Emir of Bokhara. And not less than fifty thousand met the Russians under the walls of Samarcand. Had these all joined the green banner of the Prophet unfurled by Ishan, a formidable war would have been the least of the evils to which Russia was exposed, calling for the reconquest of the whole of Turkestan. The wild Turcoman tribes of Merv and Geok-Tepe might well have made common cause with their co-religionists, and to these must be added, as possible allies, all the predatory hordes who swarm along the borderland between Russia and Persia, and whose temper we can judge by the Armenian massacres of Lake Van. Further, there are the Mussulman millions of the Caucasus, who have in no degree lost their warlike spirit, or their old aspiration after lawless plunder, which is their ideal of liberty. And it was a quite definite possibility that, when the troops of Ishan stood outside the barracks of Andijan, whispering their terrible battle-cry, they might have been giving the signal for an uprising, which would have cast the Indian mutiny into the shade, convulsed Asia for years, and changed the whole future of the East.

Clearly seeing the magnitude of their danger, the Russian authorities turned all their energies to unravelling the threads of the conspiracy. This work is far from finished, as, until all the two thousand, who took actual part in the overt act of rebellion and warfare, as well as the far greater numbers who stood behind them, aiding and abetting their attempt, shall all have paid the penalty of their daring, it cannot be said that the story is closed. Meanwhile, additional traits may be added to the story, from the records of the trials. Amongst other things, it was discovered that Andijan had been isolated from the rest of Turkestan, the telegraph-wires being cut, and a Cossack scout, who was riding thither to give the garrison warning of coming danger, was intercepted and killed. Also it was disclosed that feigned attacks had been directed against both Osh and Margelan, the two garrisons nearest to Andijan in order that, pre-occupied with their own danger, they might not think of sending reinforcements to Andijan, in case the fighting there was prolonged, and word was brought of the position of the Russian troops.

The far-sightedness of this plan shows, more than anything, that this was no mere street-brawl; or anything the least like that, but a deliberately planned and carefully executed war, and that we must make very considerable additions to the numbers who actually took part in it, under arms, besides the two thousand forming the body who marched on Andijan. Had this first attack succeeded; there were not less than a hundred thousand warriors, inspired with the same spirit of fanaticism, ready to join them in their "holy war." So that the skill and resources of the authorities will be severely tried, in unravelling the threads of this wide-spread plot, and punishing the vast numbers implicated in it.

Some of the answers of the conspirators, when interrogated at their trial, shed a flood of light on the moral forces lying behind this tragedy, whose material progress we have already related. One of them said :

"Yes, I took part in this holy war, shedding the blood of infidels, fulfilling the precepts of the Prophet, and earning the reward of Paradise, and I am now in a state of blissful ecstasy, which I pray you not to break by vexatious questions. I have told everything, and shall not open my lips again."

Ishan, the leader, testified that he had undertaken this rebellion as a "Holy War," at the command of the Divinity. "Beyond question," he said, "In the days of the Khans of Kokand, the lives and persons and property of our people were far from being as securely guarded as they now are under Russian rule. But the Mussulman spirit flourished then. The people grow rich now, but their souls die. Your laws violate the principles of the Shariat ; you have abolished the church-tax of one-fortieth of all our goods, saying that it bore ruinously on the people. But did not Allah and the holy men of old know what burdens the faithful could bear? The weak among us say that even the fivefold unction is a burden, but was it not ordained by the Prophet himself, at the command of God? You have also set a limit to the extension of vakufs, the land consecrated to the mosques, and have forbidden the Hadj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, saying that it brings small-pox back into the Russian dominions. But do you not know that it is a high privilege to die on the road to the Holy Place? and that such a death is a sure passport to paradise? The family ties of the Mussulmans are threatened by your rule. Women flee from the harems, saying that they seek the protection of Russian law, but really to lead dissipated lives. Therefore I pondered deeply on the matter, desiring the freedom of the Shariat, and asking myself how I should escape the inevitable wrath of God, if I failed to fulfil the holy ordinances. All the pillars of the Mussulman world, with whom I communed con-

cerning my bitter thoughts, were of one accord in declaring that it was time to raise the standard of our fallen honour. These thoughts spread, with weeping and gnashing of teeth, among the faithful of Ferghana. They say that I cried out 'gazawat,' thereby urging my people against the infidels; but this could only have been in a moment of delirium or of sickness. But what was to be done, that the salvation-bringing Shariat might be restored?"

Another conspirator took arms for the old native rule of the Khans of Kokand. He had been a great and rich man under them, and a Major-General in the native army. When the Russians conquered Ferghana, he was one of the last to submit, and lost his all. He became reduced to the necessity of driving a hired coach, to earn a living. His dream was to gain once more the proud position he had held of old, and die, if he might not live, once more a leader of armies.

A third rebel was frankly and simply bloodthirsty. "I am a warrior by birth," he said, "and my father and grandfather were warriors before me. I have no fault to find with Russian rule. I simply seized my weapons, when the others did, from an innate desire for fighting. Where they went, I also went. I am quite indifferent to death."

Another side of the obscure and hidden feelings of this far-off people is revealed in the evidence that follows:—

"I am a humble and insignificant man," said one of the conspirators, "I heard nothing, and knew nothing, concerning the revolt which was in progress, or the disorders of the country. In truth, I saw nothing beyond the margin of my own rice-field. I was sleeping with two of my orphaned grandchildren; and my wife, as decrepit as myself, was also sleeping, when a finely mounted horseman rode up to the door of my hut, woke me, and commanded me to follow him on horseback. He was armed; therefore what could a poor man like me do, but submit? while the fighting was going on, I held the bridle of his spare horse. I have nothing to say against being condemned and executed, if only my orphans are not starved!"

One of the conspirators, a well-known Mussulman, was asked how he could hope to overcome the might and majesty of the Russian arms whose invincible might was known to the whole world. How could a small, weak province like Ferghana hope to struggle successfully against the immense Russian Empire? To this the rebel made reply:

"Sir, it is true that there is talk in the bazars of the immensity and might of Russia. But is there little idle gossip in the bazars? But I myself view the world from the roof of my own house."

This is one of the few relieving touches of humour, in what

is otherwise a story of grim tragedy. Of moral and spiritual elements like these, best to be understood and interpreted by the zeal and fervour of the old Hebrew prophets, was formed the explosive force which threatened to blow the stability of Russian Turkestan into the air. It was due rather to accident, than either to the preparedness of the Russian authorities, or any serious miscalculation in the plan of the insurgents, that this tragedy did not reach appalling limits. Amongst the crowd of fanatics who fell upon the garrison at Andijan, there were several quite distinct elements; fanatics, zealous and irreconcilable adherents of the faith of the One God; there were adherents, interested or disinterested, of the old native rule of the Khanate of Kokand; and there were turbulent spirits, moved by mere love of fighting, and who might just as well have been on the other side, fighting the battles of Russia in some native regiment. Finally, there were many elements carried along in the current, victims of inevitable fate, weak slaves of circumstance and ignorance. Even Ishan, who stood at the head of this revolt, and infused his martial spirit into it from the outset, bringing it, as we have seen, through all the terrible days of doubt and suspense, fear of discovery and betrayal, which hang like a thundercloud over all under-ground movements; even Ishan was steeped in a naïve and pitiable ignorance. He believed himself to be possessed of miraculous powers; and that he was a man of great personal magnetism, is not to be doubted; he further believed himself to have a direct commission from Allah, through Allah's viceroy on earth, the Turkish Sultan, to overthrow the Sultan's old enemy, Russia. And the grounds of his belief that the Sultan morally supported him, were, that he had been presented with a cloak, alleged to have been worn by the Sultan himself. When he was asked why he believed his cloak came from the Commander of the Faithful, he smiled indulgently, but with absolute conviction, and answered, that everyone knew that only the Sultan wears cloaks with pockets.

But side by side with this vein of child-like simplicity, was a current of deep strategic foresight, and that martial spirit which has hovered over the prophet's banner since the days of his first conquest of Islam. Finely and daringly conceived, he attack broke down from the tactical weakness of the rebel army, at the supreme moment; a weakness which nothing but long years of steady discipline could have overcome. The leader felt compelled to hold his band together to the very last, knowing that this was the only way to keep them under control. But this too great concentration was the cause of their ruin.

Russians who are familiar with Central Asia, say that their

fellow-countrymen had come to look rather with contempt on the Sarts, the Persian element of the conquered peoples, as a weak and cowardly race, into whose thin blood they had suffused such fear of the Russian name, that they would remain abject slaves for ages. If it came to the ears of the Russians that fanatical and disaffected speeches were spreading through the bazars, they generally answered : " It is the dying whisper of the past ; a voice crying in the wilderness, which will have no result." This is exactly the spirit of security which pervaded the minds of the English in India on the eve of the great Mutiny of 1857.

Another element which seconded Ishân's scheme of sudden surprise, was the real and simple-hearted confidence which Russians, not of the military party, and therefore not touched with their almost insolent assurance of superiority, always exhibit towards the strangers and native races with which they come into contact. No people in the world possesses in so great a degree the power of sincerely fraternising with other races, and especially with Asiatics, who have so much of the same feeling of fatalism and unworldliness which distinguishes the Russians. As a race, the Russians are not self-conscious ; not full of that spirit of militant and assertive individualism which we are so accustomed to in the nations of German and Scandinavian stock, to which we largely belong. The Russian is not impressed with his personal superiority, or fretfully anxious to assert it ; and therefore he gets on easily with the more reticent, or more sensitive nations of the East, whom the Teuton browbeats, and drives into sullen mutiny.

This genuine good-heartedness of the Russian population adds to the tragedy of the whole episode ; for we cannot but feel a strong sympathy with the religious zeal and idealism which stirred the Mussulman rebels. Both parties were filled with feelings which we can sincerely admire, as indeed is always the case in all noble strife ; but they hopelessly misunderstood each other, and this misunderstanding is a seemingly impassible gulf. It can be bridged only by a gradual transformation of both Russian and Mussulman, by their ceasing to be what they now are ; or by the elimination of one party to the contest.

The idea that the Sarts are a cowardly race, is characterised by many among the Russians themselves as an ungenerous falsehood. Both in the old native annals of Andijan, and in the more recent conflicts between Russia and the Khans, many of the warriors always acquitted themselves with signal valour. They know how to die, as do all Mussulmans. And this is especially visible now, when the time has come to inflict on them the punishment which their unsuccessful act of rebellion

has drawn down on their heads. They move all beholders to admiration by the way they meet death. Not a nerve in their faces quivers ; they do not betray dissatisfaction, much less despair, even by a single gesture. The parties of rebels are brought to the gallows, and their fetters and chains are removed. The executioners lead the first of them under the noose, and the others take their places of their own accord. They notice that the hands of the first are bound behind their backs ; and they themselves cross their hands behind them, ready to be tied. What more perfect courage than this could be shown by any race, by the followers of any religion ?

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART VIII.—THE TAO-TEH-KING OF LAO TZE.

Lao Tze's Tao-teh-King, Chinese-English, with Introduction, Transliteration and Notes. By Dr. Paul Carus: Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1898.

THERE is, perhaps, no other human document of like authority that transports the Western reader into so unfamiliar an atmosphere as the Canon on Reason and Virtue of Lao-Tze, or the "Old Philosopher," as the author of the Tao-teh-King is called by the Chinese. Yet it is less upon the ideas expressed in it, than upon the manner of their expression, that this sense of strangeness depends. In the conception which is the foundation of Lao Tze's philosophy—that of the Tao, or Eternal Reason, or Norm; immutable, all-pervading, incorporeal, imperceptible by sense; the root from which everything proceeds and to which every thing returns—we have the analogue, if not the counterpart, of the Brahman of the Hindu, the Idea of the Platonist, the Pure Form of Kant. His ethical ideal of non-action, or quietude, by which he appears to mean submission to the Tao-ordained natural order of the universe, and subjugation of desire, is, again, closely related to the Nirvana of Buddhism; while the doctrine of Return to the Root, as set forth in the 16th Chapter of the Tao-teh-King, recalls the speculation of the Vedanta. Lao-Tze, however, preceded Buddha by a hundred years, and there is no valid reason for thinking either that he inspired the great Indian sage, or that he derived his idea from the Brahmins.

It is highly probable, indeed, that the Hindu Brahman, the Tao of Lao Tze, or his teachers, whoever they may have been, and the Logos of the Neo-Platonists and the Fourth Gospel, were but so many variants of a conception which was widely diffused in Asia from a period more remote than any record.

We shall find, when we come to examine the Canon of Lao Tze in some detail, that his theory of the origin and nature of the concrete universe differs in important respects from that either of the Vedantist or of the author of the Fourth Gospel. A word, however, before we go any further about the "Old Philosopher" himself.

He was born, then, in Ch'u Ihren, a village in the County of Li, in the State of Oho, or in what is now the Province of Honan, in China, and he was born in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Ting-Wang, of the Cho dynasty. Almost all that is authentically known of his life is contained in a brief memoir embodied by Sze Ma Ch'ien in his Shi Ki,

or Historical Records, which were composed in the early part of the first Century before Christ. After mentioning his birth-place, family, name and titles, Sze Ma Ch'ien goes on to say that he was in charge of the secret archives in Cho, as State Historian. Thither Confucius went to him, to consult him as to the rules of propriety, and there is some satisfaction in knowing that that arch-precisian received a severe rebuke for his pains. "When," we are told, "Confucius, speaking of propriety, praised reverence for the sages of antiquity, Lao Tze said: 'The men of whom you speak, Sir, have, if you please, mouldered, along with their bones. Their words alone still remain. If a noble man finds his hour, he rises; but, if he does not find his hour, he drifts, like a roving plant, and wanders about. I observe that the wise merchant hides his treasure deeply as if he were poor. The noble man of perfect virtue assumes an attitude as though he were stupid. Let go, Sir, your proud airs, your many wishes, your affectation and exaggerated schemes; all this, Sir, is of no use to you. That is what I have to say to you; and that is all.'"

The rebuke is Johnsonian alike in its brutal frankness and in its point. Confucius was dumb-founded, as he may well have been, and left without more ado. Returning to his expectant disciples, he said: "I know that the birds can fly. I know that the fishes can swim. I know that the wild animals can run. For those which run, one could make nooses. For those which swim, one could make nets. For those which fly, one could make arrows. As to the dragon, there is no knowing how he bestrides the wind and the clouds when he rises heavenwards. To-day I saw Lao Tze. Is he, haply, like the dragon?"

Sze Ma Ch'ien adds that Lao Tze practised reason and virtue, and that his doctrine inculcates self-concealment and namelessness. He lived for the greater part of his life in Cho; but when he foresaw the decay of that place, he departed and went to the frontier (apparently the Western frontier). When he was about to leave, the Custom-house officer, Yin-Hi, said: "Sir, since it pleases you to retire, I request you for my sake to write a book;" and, in spite of his desire for namelessness, he consented. The book he wrote was the famous Tao-teh-King, in which are discussed "the concepts of reason and virtue," and which is comprised in something over five thousand words. "Then," says Sze-Ma-Ch'ien, "he departed; and no one knows where he died."

The most comprehensive statement of the doctrine of the Tao, as held by Lao Tze, is to be found in the first Chapter of the Tao-teh-King, entitled Realisation, or Embodiment, of the

* In this, and other instances, we have followed with but slight modification, the rendering of Dr. Paul Carus in his work on the Tao-teh-King.

Tao, or Eternal Reason. "The Reason that can be reasoned," says the writer, "is not the Eternal Reason. The name that can be named is not the Eternal Name. The unnameable is of heaven and earth the beginning. The nameable becomes of the ten thousand things the mother. . . . These two things are the same in source, but different in name. Their sameness is called a mystery. Indeed, it is the mystery of mysteries. Of all spirituality it is the door."

With this may be read Chapter 4 :—"Reason is empty ; but its use is inexhaustible. In its profundity, verily, it resembleth the father of the ten thousand things. . . . Oh, how calm it seems to remain. I know not whose son it is. Before the Lord, Reason takes precedence."

Again, in Chapter 14, we are told : "We look at Reason and do not see it ; its name is colourless" (*i. e.*, it is devoid of colour). "We listen to Reason and do not hear it ; its name is soundless (*i. e.*, it is devoid of sound). We grope for Reason and do not grasp it ; its name is incorporeal (*i. e.*, it is devoid of substance). "These three things cannot be further analysed. Thus they are combined and conceived as a unity which on its surface is not clear, but in its depth not obscure. For ever and aye *Reason remains unnameable, and again and again it returns home to non-existence.* This is called the form of the formless, the image of the imageless. This is called transcendently abstruse."

In Chapter 25 the Tao is identified with Being that is all containing and precedes the existence of heaven and earth. "How, calm it is ! How incorporeal ! Alone it stands and changes not. *Everywhere it goes without check, and on that account becomes the world's mother.*"

Elsewhere Lao Tze says that Reason, so long as it remains absolute, is unnameable ; *but as soon as it creates order it becomes nameable.*

About this rendering, however, as about the rendering of much else in the Tao-teh-King, there is considerable divergence of opinion. The literal meaning, Dr. Carus observes, is : "In the beginning, when arranging, (there is) the having name ;" and the most reasonable interpretation of this would seem to be that the beginning of order is the naming (or discrimination) of individual things. But Dr. Carus thinks there is no doubt that *Tao* must be supplied as the subject of the sentence.

"The Tao in itself," he says, "is unnameable, but it becomes nameable ; that is to say determinable as the immanent principle of order in concrete existences, *i. e.*, the Tao is definite as soon as it is practically applied, either in the creation of the world, where it appears as Cosmic order, or anywhere in logic

arithmetic, mathematics, or any possible system of pure reason."

Most important of all, perhaps, in this connexion, is Chapter 42, in which Lao Tze says: "Reason begets unity; unity begets duality; duality begets trinity, and trinity begets the ten thousand things. The ten thousand things are sustained by *Yin* (the negative principle); they are encompassed by *Yang* (the positive principle), and the immaterial *Ch'i* (the breath of life) renders them harmonious." As to this Dr. Carus remarks: "The trinity of which Lao Tze speaks is the *Yin*, the *Yang*, and the *Ch'i*, viz., the negative principle, the positive principle, and the breath of life, or the spirit. In their unity they are the Tao. The resemblance which this trinity bears to the trinity doctrines in general is no evidence that Taoism has been derived from Brahmanism. Nor is it a triple personality. Lao Tze's trinity doctrine is quite abstract and philosophical, it may be based upon older teachings, or it may be his own interpretation of the traditional views of the *Yang* and *Yin*, in combination with the idea of the *Ch'i*, all three of which are contained in the *Tao*, as the all comprising rationality of existence, the divine *Logos*, the highest unifier, the principle of oneness for all thoughts and things."

It seems to us, however, distinctly to imply the conception of polarity, combined with energy, or motion, as the origin of "the ten thousand things" and their interaction; and, remembering that the condition under which movement necessarily implies polarity, is a universal plenum, this brings us very near to the conception of an all pervading ether, which, indeed, as we know from Chwang Tze, was part of the Taoist theory of the universe.

That Lao Tze should present us with an intelligible explanation of so essentially transcendental a problem as how, out of the One Impersonal, arises the myriad personal; out of the timeless, succession; out of the spaceless, direction, was not to be expected. Nevertheless, amid much that is obscure, there are certain points in these statements of inevitable paradox which stand out with unmistakeable clearness.

In the first place, while the eternal, impersonal, absolute Reason, which comprehends all things, and which is unnameable, is declared to be the root out of which the concrete universe (the ten thousand things) arises, we are told that it does not immediately create the concrete. It is the personal, the limited, the nameable reason that becomes "the mother of the ten thousand things." These two things, the unnameable and the nameable, are, however, declared to be essentially the same, and their sameness, we are told, is the mystery of mysteries. We are further told that it is in virtue of its power

of going everywhere unhindered that it becomes the mother of all things, *i.e.*, that it originates the concrete world, and that it is when it creates order that it becomes the nameable.

Whether the nameable is regarded by Lao Tze as identical with the Lord, spoken of by him in Chapter 4, of which the absolute Reason takes precedence, is uncertain.

On this point, Dr. Carus says, in a note: "The term *Ti*, or frequently *Shang Ti*, meaning 'Lord,' or 'The Highest Lord,' is commonly used in Chinese in the same sense as the English term Lord in the Bible. It means God and implies always the personality of God. The context, however, justifies neither the conclusion that Lao Tze regarded the Tao as a personal Deity, nor that he thought of the Tao and God as two distinct entities. He may and probably did introduce the word *ti* (God), as commonly used and understood by the people, neither affirming nor denying his existence, simply stating that Tao, or Reason, or the Logos (*vis.*, the prototype of human reason, those inalienable conditions of all the relations of any possible reality, which logicians and mathematicians formulate in rules that are possessed of an intrinsic necessity and universality) is truly and unequivocally eternal; it is absolutely eternal, while the Lord, supposing him to be a personal being, can only be regarded as relatively eternal. The Tao is prior even to God."

The probability would seem to be that the *Ti*, or God, spoken of as posterior to the unnameable Reason which is before all things and the root of all things, is to be identified with the nameable, which is the mother of the ten thousand things, *i.e.*, the concrete world, and that it is in view of this fact, coupled with the identity in origin of the nameable with the unnameable, that the Taoists constantly personify the Tao and use the term as a synonym of God. Indeed, as Dr. Carus reminds us, Lao Tze himself, in places, speaks of the Tao as the world-mother and the mother of the ten thousand things, which, except on the supposition that he is referring to the nameable Tao only, would be inconsistent with the statement in Chapter 4, already quoted.

"The Tao," says Dr. Carus, "is Kant's 'purely formal.' Thus it is called *ta chwang*, the great form, and *ta hsiang*, the great image. Other expressions of a similar significance are *liao*, vacancy, or a condition of not being occupied, and *chi*, noiselessness, or a void of activity. It is the absolute whose essence is not concrete being, but abstract law. To characterise the former, the absence of all the concrete reality, it is called *wu*, or the non-existent; to characterise the latter, the abstractness of this highest of all generalities, it is called *chung*, hollowness, or *hsü*, emptiness, or the void. As the ultimate

ground of existence it is called *hsüen*, abyss, an expression which reminds one of the neo-Platonic *buthos* and the *urgrund* of the German mystics."

As regards the question of the nature of the concrete world, it is to be observed that there is nothing in the Tao-teh-King that corresponds to the Vedantic doctrine of *Maya*. Lao Tze appears throughout to assume the reality of the ten thousand things. It is true, he insists repeatedly and emphatically on the return, not only of every individual existence, but of the concrete world collectively, to its root, that is to nothingness, to formlessness. Thus not only does he say: "All the ten thousand things arise, and I see them return. Now they bloom in bloom, but each one homeward returneth to its root," referring to physical death, or disintegration, but he says of the unnameable Reason, "again and again it returns home to non-existence," that is it ceases to be manifested through the nameable. Indeed, one of the names which he gives to the Tao is, '*fan*,' the Returning. But there is nothing to indicate that he regards the world of sense as other than real while it endures. Indeed, he affirms explicitly that, while existence comes from non-existence and returns to it, "heaven and earth and the ten thousand things come from existence."

It is on its ethical side, however, that the Canon of Lao Tze will probably possess most interest for the general reader. The key-note of his teaching is submission to the eternal Reason, or what, literally interpreted, is non-action. Dr. Carus rightly insists that this principle is not to be understood as inactivity in the ordinary sense, and he would translate the expression as "non-assertion." It seems clear, however, that, while Lao Tze certainly inculcates non-assertion of self, the principle means much more than this as ordinarily understood. It is correctly, if not quite adequately, described by Dr. Carus when he says: "Lao Tze demands the surrender of personal ambition and all selfish strivings. *His aim is not to fashion, not to make, not to push or force things, but to let them develop according to their own nature.*"

In order to understand the rationale of this doctrine of quietude, it is necessary to consider Lao Tze's views of the relation between the eternal and absolute Reason and reason as it is individualised in man and other living beings. The former, it is to be remembered, though the source of all transformations, does not act. It is law, not action; immutable; impassible. The individualised reason, on the other hand, impels every living being to seek its own good; and the more it does this, the more it departs from the pattern of the eternal Reason.

To Lao Tze, indeed, all such action is interference with the natural course of things. Lao Tze's whole philosophy, says Dr. Carus, "can be condensed in these words: 'Men, as a rule, attempt for personal ends to change the Tao that is eternal; they endeavour to create or make a Tao of their own. But when they make they mar; all they should do is to let the eternal Tao have its way, and otherwise be heedless of consequences, for then all will be well.'" It is apparent from numerous passages in the *Tao-teh-King* that, in embracing this ideal of right conduct, Lao Tze is influenced by a profound conviction, not merely that the existence of evil depends on the operations of the individualised Tao, but that the sum total of evil is directly proportional to the extent and intensity of those operations.

"When in the world all understand beauty to be beauty," he says in Chapter 2, "then only ugliness appears. When all understand goodness to be goodness, then only badness appears." And then, after quoting, by way of illustration, a passage in which the mutual dependence of such opposites as existence and non-existence, long and short, above and below, before and after, is insisted on, he goes on to say: "Therefore the holy man abides by non-assertion in his affairs and conveys by silence his instruction."

Still more explicitly, in Chapters 18 and 19, we are told: "When the great Reason is obliterated, we have benevolence and justice. Prudence and circumspection appear and we have much hypocrisy. When family relations no longer harmonise, we have filial piety and paternal love. When the country and the clans decay through disorder, we have loyalty and allegiance.

"Abandon your saintliness; put away your prudence; and the people will gain a hundred-fold. Abandon your benevolence; put away your justice; and the people will return to filial devotion and paternal love. Abandon your scheming; put away your gains; and thieves and robbers will no longer exist."

In other words, it is only relatively to the individualised Tao that good and evil exist. Relatively to the absolute Tao, whatever happens, happens equally according to law, however it affects this or that individual consciousness. No, for Lao Tze, is this truth a mere truism. His ideal of supreme blessedness is that state of rest to which the great Tao ever returns; his ideal of blessedness for the individual is in following, not the promptings of what is human in him, but what is eternal; in approaching as nearly as possible to the likeness of the great Tao. "All the ten thousand things," he says, "arise, and I see them return. Now they bloom in bloom, but each

one homeward returneth to its root. Returning to the root means rest. It signifies the return according to destiny. Return according to destiny means the eternal. Knowing the eternal means enlightenment. Not knowing the eternal causes passions to rise; and that is evil."

Again: "To know the harmonious is called the eternal. To know the eternal is called enlightenment."

The simplest wants; the simplest ethical standards; the simplest and fewest laws, such is Lao Tze's ideal of the right individual, social and civic life. The more man desires, the further he departs from the great Tao; out of the multitude of ethical distinctions comes misconduct; out of the multitude of laws come offences.

"The more restrictions and prohibition are in the Empire," he says in Chapter 57, "the poorer grow the people, the more weapons the people have, the more troubled is the State. The more there is cunning and skill, the more startling events will happen. The more mandates and laws are enacted, the more there will be thieves and robbers: Therefore the holy man says: 'I practise non-assertion, and the people of themselves reform. I love quietude, and the people of themselves become righteous. I use no diplomacy, and the people of themselves become rich. I have no desire, and the people of themselves remain simple.'"

He extends the same principle to the relations of States towards one another. "A great State, one that lowly flows, becomes the Empire's union, and the Empire's wife. The wife always through quietude conquers her husband, and by quietude renders herself lowly. Thus a great State through lowliness towards small States will conquer the small States, and small States through lowliness towards great States will conquer great States."

Lao Tze was probably only too well aware that, for the mass of men, observance of the letter of his precepts would, in so artificial a society as that of China, even in the sixth Century, B. C., have been impracticable. On the other hand, he frankly tells us that he regards such a state of society as a misfortune. "Induce people," he says in Chapter 80, "to return to (the old custom) of knotted cords, and to use them (in the place of writing), to delight in their food, to be proud of their clothes, to be content with their homes, and to rejoice in their customs. Then in a neighbouring state within sight, the voices of the cocks and dogs would be within hearing, yet the people might grow old and die before they visited one another."

One cannot help feeling that a certain vein of exaggeration runs through the ethical counsels of the Tao-teh-King; and

this is not improbably attributable to its being to a great extent intended as a counterblast to the teachings of Confucius, who seems to have been the *bête noire* of the doughty "old philosopher." The result is a tendency towards a paradoxical mode of expression which must not be taken too literally. When, for instance, Lao Tze says that when family relations no longer harmonise, we have filial piety and maternal love, he is not to be understood as meaning that family dissensions are the cause of filial piety and maternal love; but that it is the prevalence of such dissensions alone that leads to emphasis being laid on the duty, or merit, of conduct which ought to be the spontaneous outcome of natural feeling. No doubt, too, Lao Tze felt that to make a virtue of the observance of natural obligations of this kind was to incur the risk of demoralising those to whom the possibility of their violation would otherwise never have suggested itself.

ART. IX.—WHEN TIRUMALA THE GREAT RULED.

THE eye of the traveller is at once taken by the noble proportions of an effigy seen in the Vasanta Mantapam, at Madura. The figure is that of Tirumala the great Nayakkan; and under his personal superintendence, it is said, it was sculptured. In appearance it is that of a large and corpulent man who strikes one as being by no means unmindful of the pleasures of the table. His proportions notwithstanding, Tirumala was one of the most active and energetic of rulers. He rose before dawn, and for some hours after employed his time, if he had no pressing affairs of State to attend to, in looking to the erection of some great State building, or in looking on while some work of art was being executed by his sculptors or artists. A skilled artist was his special delight, and nothing pleased him more than to honour such a one by a compliment or by an offer of betel-nut from his own royal hand. He, as often as not, crossed over to the Tannakan, either to watch a match between a tiger and a buffalo, or to see a couple of athletes wrestle; or, perchance, he might ride away to the open plains north of Madura to hunt the antelope with the trained cheetah. He returned to his palace when the morning grew warm, and, after performing the ordinary Hindu ablutions, took the principal meal of the day, after which he enjoyed the long siesta during the mid-day heat. In the afternoon he granted audiences, dealt with petitions orally and decided important suits in the Hall of Justice. These last were decided as far as possible in accordance with the well-known customs of the several castes to which the litigants belonged, the King being assisted in arriving at a decision by learned Brahman assessors. Usually the suits which the King sat to decide upon had reference to precedence of rank, or the right to worship in a particular place at a particular time and in a particular manner; or to set up an idol in some so-called suitable place; or the right to ride in a palanquin or claim some privilege highly prized, but detrimental to the social status of individuals belonging to other castes. Two cases in point may be cited as examples. When Tirumala himself was completing the Vasanta Mantapam, about which he took so much pains, all those of the Vaishnava sect opposed the setting up therein, by the Saivites, of a column on which was to be placed an image of the Ekapadamurti. On another occasion a dispute arose between the Dedan, or Tamil, weavers and another caste as to which of the castes was entitled to precedence at public entertainments.

to receive betel-nut. Suits such as these occupied the King's attention for some little time, he either deciding them himself or referring them to a couple of arbitrators for settlement. He next ordinarily passed his time in propounding difficult ethical and metaphysical questions to learned Brahmans who argued them out in his presence; or he would listen to the relation of fables or facetious tales; or rhymers who improvised poems, strolling bards, or minstrels, were bidden to recite, play or sing before him. Moreover, there were encouraged to take up their abode near the King's palace those who could please by adroitness, whether mental or physical. These were ever ready, at a moment's notice, to perform before the King and his courtiers, or the ladies of the King's harem. After twilight, torches were lit and the ceremony of the torch-salutation was gone through. Then began the real business of the day. Visitors of rank were received in State; and consultations on high matters of state were discussed with ministers, while tom-toms beat and pipes played noisily and the interminable nightly nautch moved slowly on. The King retired late at night.

Many of our readers, perhaps, imagine that the then kingdom of Madura comprised merely the present administrative District of Madura in the Madras Presidency. Such was far from the case. When the great Tirumala ruled, he held sway over the Tinnevely country, over a good portion of Travancore, over the present administrative district of Madura, over about a third of the Tanjore district and the whole of the Trichinopoly district, and over the Coimbatore and Salem districts. In these lands Poligars held territories as military feuds. The Sethupathi of Ramnad paid homage but no tribute; and the King of Travancore paid tribute only when he was compelled to do so. To protect the Kingdom from outside invasion, forts were erected by the Nayakkan in certain centres, many of which are perhaps familiar to the Indian traveller. They were:—Dindigul, Dharapuram, Coimbatore, Tannenja Nayakkan, Sattiyamangalam, Audiyâr, Erode, Kangeiyam, Vijayamangalam, Karar, Námakal, Sendamangalam, Salem, Melûr, Sankeigiri, Sanapalli, Aravakurichi, Mugatûr, Sakka-giri, Mamatti and Sekanagiri.

Despotism of the purest kind was the form of Tirumala's Government. Absolute though he was, he was checked not only by fear of insurrection on the part of the people, but also by dread of rebellion by his feudal lords and the powerful officers of the State, all of whom had a share in some way in the administration of the affairs of the country. His fear in these respects was as lively as it was ever present. Seldom, indeed, did the great Tirumala ever venture to outrage the

principles of justice and morality, such ideas of them at least as his subjects had inherited from countless generations of ancestors. There was a well-defined public opinion which he durst not attempt to insult, for it was unsafe to do so.

To assist him in the administration of the Kingdom, Tirumala had five Ministers. The chief of these was the *Delavoy*. In him were united the offices of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. His powers were large. The King hardly ever decided upon declaring war or making peace without his advice. No new tax was imposed, no new law made, no great public work undertaken without his being consulted. Of official precedents and knowledge he was the great repository and he was directly responsible for all blunders. In his wisdom and honesty the King placed the greatest confidence; and as Commander-in-Chief the King relied on him for the conquest of his enemies, whether domestic or foreign.

The collection of the revenues and the entire administration of the country were entrusted to the *Prudani*, who was the Minister of Finance.

The drafting of correspondence, preparation of grants and orders and keeping of notes of all transactions of high import belonged to the portfolio of the *Rayasam*, who was the King's confidential secretary. It was considered that his position was as exalted as his duties were important.

An office that was thought to be not only vastly important, but also most honourable, was that of the *Kanakhan*, or accountant general. On him fell the responsibility regarding the correctness of all accounts touching the expenditure and receipt of revenue. There was a common saying of the times that he "must keep his account as true as the sun; or even if the sun were to rise in the west, his account must not vary."

Lastly there was the Ambassador, or *Sthamapati*, who represented his royal master in foreign courts. His qualifications were fluency of speech, unconsciousness of the truth, and a thorough acquaintance with the politics, customs, etiquette and peculiarities of the several countries his King might happen, in the course of events, to deal with. Moreover, it was necessary that he should be able to observe acutely and deduce correctly.

Besides these officers of high state, Tirumala the Great found it necessary to appoint Chiefs of influence and opulence to administer, as Governors, two of his most important provinces. One was the Administrator of the Tinnevely country, and the next in importance the Governor of the rich province of Sattiyamangalam.

The revenue administration in vogue in the time of the

great Tirumala is worthy of examination. Just as the Collectories of the Madras Presidency in the present time are formed, so consisted the Kingdom in his days. There was an aggregate of villages, or *municipia*, whose boundaries were unalterable and whose population was a distinct community, hereditary headmen regulating its affairs. Thus in each *municipium* there were a Magistrate, *Kanakkans* or revenue collectors, *taliaris*, or policemen, and other functionaries. So its affairs were managed, the King's Government noticing it but little save in time of invasion.

In size and importance villages, of course, varied, and their denominations were in accordance with the number of the houses and inhabitants, and the caste and position of the latter. Thus, an *ur* was a village occupied by Telugus or Kanarese; a *patti* or *Kurichi* was a small village whose inhabitants were Kullars; a fortified village bore the name of *Kottai*; while a *Mangalam* was a village inhabited by Brahmans and containing rich rice lands; ordinary Tamil villages being designated as *gramas* or *kudis*.

To control the headmen of *municipia* there were administrative officers vested with extensive powers. Each such officer was placed in charge of a territorial division, which was made up of a group or groups of villages arranged according to circumstances for the facilitation of revenue collections. As in the case of villages, so was it in regard to territorial divisions, so far as their denominations went. Thus, in the Maravar country a territorial division was designated a *mahanam*. The Kallars called theirs a *nadu*. The district round about Madura was so rich that in early times it was known as the "excellent *Nadu* of Madura." The largest divisions in the country were termed *simeis*. In the Maravar and Kullar tracts the village officers who collected revenue were called *ambalakarans*, while in ordinary Tamil districts they were styled *maniyakarans*. They collected the taxes due to the King, remitting these dues through their accountants, the Kanakka *pilleis*, to the officers in charge of *mahanams*, *nadus* and *simeis*. These last accounted for their receipts to the *Prudani*, or Minister of Finance.

The royal revenues were chiefly derived from the land, and were for the most part payable in kind. The King was the sole landlord of all lands save those granted in perpetuity to Poligars and other nobles, to Brahmans, temples and religious institutions. The produce of the lands of each village was divided between the ryots who cultivated them and the King, the proportion being exactly equal. Whether the ryot actually got his share is doubtful. It depended entirely on the rapacity of the King's superior collectors and

the adroitness of the petty local officials in regard to their power of deceiving the collectors. There is a theory often put forward that in the good old days of purely Hindu Government the cultivator of the soil ordinarily enjoyed from three-fourths to nine-tenths of the produce he raised. But it is only a theory, altogether unsupported by facts. The letters of the Jesuit Fathers, the most authentic records of the times, are far from supporting this untenable theory.

The King's next source of revenue was tribute. This source was, however, a variable quantity. It was constantly withheld wholly or in part, when force had to be employed to collect it. There were several very curious petty imposts on land, one of the most arbitrary being the *Er-vinei*, or *plough-tax*. The necessity for the imposition of the *ferry-boat* tax seems to be intelligible enough, for bridges were unknown in those days and mountain torrents were numerous. This tax was assessed on the cultivated lands of each village in order to provide funds for the maintenance of royal ferry-boats whereby travellers could cross rivers, when swollen with rains, in safety and without charge.

Government undertook the task of providing for the protection of crops grown. So a watching tax, the *Kavali-vari* was imposed for the remuneration of Government watchers.

On high days and holidays the gigantic cars of the gods had to be dragged along in procession. Accordingly each village was bound to provide a certain number of men for the work, this service being designated and taxed as *ter-uliya* or *car-service*. Besides these imposts, there were taxes that affected the interests of more than one village. The weaver's loom paid its tax, and so did every indigo vat, every retail shop, every oil-mill, and every house where lived an artificer. The collector of wild honey had to pay so much *per annum*; so had the maker and seller of ghee; likewise every possessor of a pair of bullocks that drew a conveyance. The very stones in the rivers utilized by dhobies for beating clothes paid something by way of tax; and grain and other commodities brought through the gates of towns had to pay octroi duties.

The great pearl-fishery carried on yearly along the whole coast from Cape Commorin to Paumben was a most productive source of revenue, and the amount the King got by the monopoly of the conch-shell fishery was by no means to be despised. All along the coast conch-shells were to be found in abundance. They were of large size and of a brilliant white colour; and were ordinarily exported to Bengal, Burmah and the adjacent countries, where they were highly prized as materials for bracelets and other ornamental articles. There was an ancient legend

that attributed to certain conch-shells magical virtues. These shells, known as *salagramas*, were very seldom found, and had their volutes running from left to right, instead of from right to left as is usually the case. They always commanded fabulous prices.

We have now, we think, enumerated the several known sources from which the Great Tirumala obtained revenue. And now we propose calculating what his revenue would be like (say) in the middle of the present century, basing our calculations on the market value of money as prevailing in the beginning of the eighteenth century (Tirumala's time). At the time we indicate, we know, from the reports of the Jesuit Fathers that the Nayakkan of Madura had to pay as tribute to the Emperor of Vijayanagar the respectable sum of £400,000. This amount, we take it, was calculated on a third of the King's revenue, for in the same manner was calculated for tribute the Poligars paid the King. We, therefore, believe that Tirumala's gross revenue must have amounted to about £1,200,000. We gather from a Jesuit letter of 1713 that, in 1713, for a *fanam* "eight *markáls*, or large measures, of excellent husked rice" could be purchased and would keep a man well fed for over a fortnight. The Marava *markál* is supposed to contain six measures, each of about two pounds weight, and the *fanam* is equivalent to about $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ of English money. So, for about $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ one could purchase about 96 pounds of "excellent husked rice." But we know that in the middle of the present century, only 20 pounds of good rice could be bought for a rupee. Thus, at the commencement of the Eighteenth Century forty odd pounds could be bought for a penny, while in the middle of the present century you could get no more than five-sixths of a pound for a penny. Therefore we see that the value of money had risen, in the middle of the present century, forty-fold. So that Tirumala's gross revenue of £1,200,000 would be equivalent to a revenue of about £50,000,000. We cannot suppose that he actually had this vast sum to disburse annually, for various causes would affect it, such as unfavorable seasons, late payment, or evasion of payment of tribute; invasions, epidemics and famines; or failures of the fisheries. All these unfavourable factors notwithstanding, it must be conceded that Tirumala's income was extraordinarily large; and no rulers that succeeded them ever understood the difficult art of extracting money from their subjects better than the Nayakkans did.

E. H. B.

ART. X.—SCRIBES AND PHARISEES.

IN these days "Literature" means Fiction; and not Fiction of a very artistic sort either. To contemporaries of Miss Austen and Sir Walter Scott—nay, of Thackeray and Miss Eyans—Fiction was a serious pursuit, requiring education and trained faculties. Now the outfit is of simpler nature, involving only some power of observation and mimicry, with a ready invention not restrained by considerations of probability, or of moral obligation. Whether as short stories or as serials, the products of such qualities crowd the monthly magazines or arrogate to themselves the name of "Book" and cover the counters.

Sometimes the characters bear the names and attributes of real persons; not long since, I came across my father-in-law, in one of the popular novels of the day; though, had not name and office been given, I should certainly not have recognised him. But in most cases a disguise is affected: the character is a photograph; but composite, with inconsistent attributes. As for the incidents, not only are they of the wildest improbability, but they are sometimes of a nature more really "unfit for publication" than the most unshrinking newspaper reports. The everlasting affairs of the chaste youth and coy maiden, which we were invited to follow by the early novelists, may have ceased to charm: but the problems and the experiments on the Decalogue that have taken the place of the former innocent intrigue, form a less wholesome condiment to the far-fetched impossibilities of incident and adventure. The writers who aimed at instructing and improving our minds, are dead or silent, and a Byzantine decay surrounds our dying century with phosphoric glitter.

In such a state of things; it seems audacious to seek public indulgence for any attempts at the presentation of truth; and an excuse at least appears urgently necessary if one would be acquitted of the impertinence imputable to an unwarranted intrusion. Will the benevolent reader extend his kindness to one who offers the results of a long and wide experience in phrases few and brief; who, if he sometimes has a tendency to hold your button, soon looses his hold?

A commendable attempt to answer this question has been made by Mr. Mark Thornhill, a retired Indian Civilian, already known for his adventures in the Mutiny recorded by his own skilful hand. His new work is a praiseworthy account of the recreations of an official in a country, where the ordinary European denizen finds only boredom; and Mr. Thornhill is

to be felicitated on having discovered a remedy against ennui which must have whiled away many a hot and helpless hour.* A contemporary criticism that pronounces him the Gilbert White of India, really does injustice to an unaffected and intelligent observer; indeed, the author is not even on a par with the late Richard Jefferies, having neither the gift of style nor the merit of accuracy. He does not even show, either by his transliteration or by his interpretation, that he knows the meaning of the Indian names and locutions that he has occasion to introduce; and his historical narratives are not of much more authenticity. Such a well-worn incident as the expedition of Warren Hastings to Benares is given with many serious inaccuracies; and the death of Sir Rollo Gillespie, at the siege of Nālapāni in 1814, is incorrectly told. In both these cases the writer has been misled by over-confidence in his own memory; but when he undertook to correct the accepted records, he should, at least, have refreshed his recollection by reference to the best sources. Nevertheless, when all is said, and allowance made for his own modest disclaimer of scientific knowledge, Mr. Thornhill has produced a book of more information, more permanent value, than all the novels of Anglo-India.

The fact is that Idealism, to be useful, ought to be the work of genius, while any honest observer endowed with ordinary pen-craft, can—if he will—give a useful record of phenomena.

In spite of all that we can say, however, it seems likely that no record of phenomena—even if scientific and accurate—will take the place of fiction in popular regard. Mrs. Steel and Mr. Kipling will be more acceptable exponents of India than Mr. Thornhill, or even Sir William Hunter. Catalogues, we shall be reminded, are not "literature," any more than an Atlas is a work of art, and the reason why Fiction holds the field is not so entirely discreditable to our modern civilisation. The fundamental facts of all animated nature may be the production and the preservation of existence; and even human interests are based on these essentials. "Ye ken weel eneuch," Rob Roy said, "that women and gear are at the bottom of all the mischief o' this world;" and mischief, in some form or other, plays a main part in human life.

Yet man may, perhaps, be something more than a mere animal; whether rightly or wrongly, he considers himself an exile from Eden and cultivates the nostalgia of the Infinite. To him, therefore, appears an ideal beyond the essential instincts; and he goes to any one who can minister to his transcendental cravings. How far the excessive photography

* *Haunts and hobbies of an Indian Official.* London, 1899.

of details which is our present fashion will go to fulfil the mission here suggested is "another story;" perhaps there may be signs that the apotheosis of the piston-rod is not, and never can be, food for the soul.

I may be begging the question: but let us assume that the word "soul" means something, though we know not what. Primitive man, we are told, believed in a semi-material essence, or kernel, of which we became aware—in ourselves and others—by occasional (and for the most part unpleasant) experiences. The soul got at us in dreams; escaped out of the open window when we died; hovered about the grave where we were buried; and was as full of caprice and malice as its owner had ever been in life. People have, for the present, agreed to drop such doctrines in conversation, if not always in their instinctive feelings: but we retain the sense of something absolute, independent of the common phenomena, yet indicated by them. Let us, then, understand that "soul" stands for that part of the human constitution that cannot be satisfied with the objects of the senses; that sees (or fancies) an element in man not shared by other animals; that is conscious of the duties of sympathy and of social obligation. Literature that takes no account of these attributes will not have permanent success.

Fiction, or Romance, derives its attractions in whole from the two primal passions; appeals to our interest by representing the fortunes of desire, the troubles of love and the pursuit of gain. The persons engaged in these adventures excite our hopes and fears; and our sympathy is exhausted upon imaginary beings. What, in the meantime, is happening in the sphere which—if the precepts and practice of the greatest men and the noblest ages be true—is the sphere of the highest Art? Where is room left for the lessons of wisdom, the love of truth and beauty, the culture of the spirit, the duty of man to man?

Let us by all means clear our minds of Cant: I am most anxious to do so. But bigoted orthodoxy—what is called earnest faith—is not the same thing as the passion of which I would have literature take heed. He who aims at the Moon may hit the tree-top: it is in pursuing the Ideal—however unattainable—that man must achieve his best. He cannot reach that summit: if he did, the atmosphere there would be too rare and cold for him to breathe: he needs the hopes and fears of Reality, the tainted air of towns, the charities of the hearth with all their petty elements of worry and care. But he should lift his eyes unto the Hills.

As an unequal but sometimes sincere writer of the middle nineteenth century once pointed out, the two attitudes are not incompatible:—

" A man's best things are nearest him,
 Lie close about his feet ;
 It is the distant and the dim
 We are so fain to greet ;
 For flowers that grow around, beneath,
 We struggle and aspire—
 Our hearts must die unless they breathe
 The air of fresh desire."

That was the late Lord Houghton's way of stating a conviction akin to that of his friend Wordsworth when he wrote of the skylark as—

"Type of the wise who soar, but never roam,
 True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home."

Our views of the nature of Heaven, and even of the way to get there, may vary from age to age and from country to country. But it will always remain an attribute of the wise that they will cherish the sense of a bright world sending its beams through the clouds that gather about our daily life, in which, as Shelley beautifully says, the film of familiarity obscures for us the wonder of our being.

Let none fear that Religion will die. Religion—the instinct of the Absolute something that can neither be proved nor understood—is the essential, indispensable ground-work of Art, both plastic and literary.

As to the spirit in which it ought to be treated, almost enough has perhaps been said, when we have deprecated dogmatism. Men have gone on too long confusing opinion with faith, and thinking that unity implied uniformity. It is not so difficult for all the corps in an army to march to a common objective, even if the soldiers do not comprehend all the design of their General ; but no one would expect all to wear the same facings or carry the same colours, or complain because the Sappers did not work field-pieces, or the cavalry form square. Yet a common purpose ought to animate every member of the force, more intelligently among the officers, most so among the Staff.

There is less difference between complete freedom of opinion and complete compliance with conventional religion than a superficial observation might imagine ; and there appears, every now and then, amid the prosaic aspects of daily life, a glimpse of fundamental agreement. The believer betrays a hint of doubting, while many a doubter is found more or less willing to bow down in the House of Rimmon. The explanation may be found in the principle put forth in various forms by the ancient Hindu sages ; by Plato ; and, in later days, by Kant and Hegel, Hamilton and Herbert Spencer. If that which is abso-

lute and certain, is beyond the reach of human faculty, then our knowledge must always be conditional and relative: the actual truth being first modified by refraction in each individual temperament, and then further altered by common convention and actual consultation in every particular place and time.

If this be a universal law it must apply to dogma no less than to what we treat as fact. The transcendent ideas at the expression of which Theology has always aimed are therefore unlikely to be conceived or expressed alike in all conditions of Society: knowledge of them, like all other knowledge, must be relative, and the human mind is not only incapable of giving it indisputable statement, but, by its very nature, inadequate to its full apprehension. If the relations of various items of the Solar system are never understood or expressed alike in various lands and ages, how much less the relations of Man to his Maker or the constitution and destinies of the Soul!

It may well be, then, that no School or Church is either wholly infallible or wholly wrong; supposing that all honestly argue and expound what they apprehend, according to the light and ability that may be in each. And, should any individual, even, feel called to an independent analysis, he ought to consider whether its expression will be beneficial, or whether the trouble, risk, and scandal incidental to a declared isolation are too penal to be incurred in a cause whose very premiss implies enquiry and indulgence. It seems, then, that we have here a prospect of compromise; a sort of *Eirenikon* between two apparently hostile forces; provided that each be directed in a perfectly honest and undogmatic spirit. The Churchman may without shame acknowledge that he cannot by understanding find out God; and that such knowledge being too excellent for him he cannot attain unto it. The Agnostic, for his part ought to have no hesitation in seeing that he is precluded from positive negation by the nature of his position. Conscious of the doubtfulness of doubt and the certainty of error, he may well adopt an urbane and modest compliance with the current observances of his neighbours: so we may imagine Cicero throwing a pinch of incense on the altar of Jove.

Some of our British "Broad Church" have felt this: and it is a needless ignoring of charity to tax them with being insincere or mercenary. How much, or how little, of the theology of his time Sydney Smith—for instance—may have really assimilated, it may not be possible to determine; but we ought not to question his honesty any more than we can deny his intelligence and mental strength. Perhaps he, too, felt that the then received dogmatic system was of human origin and no more than symbolic, a kind of theologic algebra—the attempt of fine minds in hours of aspiration, to translate

the divine oracles into the language of mundane life ; though with an unknown quantity. In this sense it may be dimly conjectured that the conventional image of "The Father," as conceived by medieval painters, expresses the Providence that animates the universe and makes for righteousness. So, too, the Redeemer of the Creeds may stand for a type of the blessings that wait on obedience, and of the victory of suffering. In no other way does it seem easy to account for Chillingworth and Hales, or the later conformity of such clergymen as Jowett and Arthur Stanley. Belief is one of those matters as to which earnestness is not the chief consideration.*

Even the difficult question of determinism is much helped by this clue. Pope adored a Deity who,

" Fixing Nature fast in fate,

Left free the human will."

The *thought* of the author was not always original : but in his power of enunciation he has, amongst English poets, no superior : the "Universal prayer" is a treatise in a nutshell. If our faculties are only equal to phenomena, we cannot lay down the law for the absolute, which must be a law to itself. Thus, while the events of the world and its material facts be bound in a chain of necessity, it may be fairly assumed that in the spiritual sphere—where there is neither space nor time—Will must be unconditioned and therefore free. The freedom extends only to the choice between good and evil ; and it is a purely *moral* factor.†

As to the efficacy of prayer, our principle of Relativity is equally useful. One may be tempted to think that asking for Rain or Fair Weather is like an attempt to propitiate the Law of gravitation. Nevertheless, when the Soul is sad, to cast one's care upon God, to accept humbly the fiat of the great Disposer, to cultivate a cheerful, unegotistic temper, is a duty that is also a pleasure, nowise impaired by giving it the familiar old name of prayer.

H. G. K.

* Matthew Arnold's objection to the Gospel according to Carlyle may be remembered here.

† See Wallace's *Kant* p. 213.

ART. XI.—POLITICAL HISTORY OF MUSCAT.

IN view of recent events at Muscat, a brief survey of the Political history of that place may not be uninteresting.

British dealings with Muscat began in 1798, when a species of Treaty [Agreement, strictly speaking] was negotiated with the Sultan of Muscat on behalf of the East India Company by its Native Agent at Bushire. In the Deed of Agreement, which was executed on the 12th October 1798, the Sultan of Muscat declared "my heart has become disposed to an increase of friendship with that State (England)." Article III of the Agreement runs thus:—"Whereas frequent applications have been made, and are still making, by the French and Dutch people for a Factory, *i.e.*, to seat themselves in either at Muscat or Goombroom, or at the other ports of this Sircar, it is, therefore, written that, whilst warfare shall continue between the English Company and them, never shall, from respect to the Company's friendship, be given to them throughout all my territories a place to fix or seat themselves in, nor shall they get even ground to stand upon within this State."

According to Article IV the Sultan undertook to dismiss from his service a Frenchman who was at the time in command of his ships. By Article V "in the event of any French vessel coming to water at Muscat, she shall not be allowed to enter the cove into which the English vessels are admitted, but remain without; and in case of hostilities ensuing here between the French and English ships, the force of this State by land and by sea, and my people, shall take part in hostility with the English, but on the high seas I am not to interfere." Article VI provides for aid to be rendered to ship-wrecked British vessels; and the seventh and last article permits the British to erect a fortified Factory in the neighbourhood of Muscat, and to maintain "forty or fifty English gentlemen residing there, with seven or eight hundred sepoys."

The Ruler of Muscat, who signed this Deed, was Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad, who belonged to the dynasty of Al Bu Saids, at present in power. The founder of this dynasty was a certain Ahmad bin Said, the Arab Governor of Sohar, a sea-coast town about 153 miles north-west of Muscat. He was elected Imam of Muscat in 1741 on account of the services he had rendered in expelling the Persians who, during Nadir Shah's reign, overran Oman, and subjugated the Arabs, who

had established their dominion on the Arabian and African coasts after the expulsion of the Portuguese in the middle of the 17th Century. These latter, it may be mentioned, settled at Muscat about the commencement of the previous century. Ahmad bin Said died in 1775; when his second son, Said, succeeded him; but, as he was not a strong Ruler, his fifth brother, Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmed usurped the throne in 1785. It was during the reign of the latter that the Treaty of 1798, above alluded to, was concluded; and two years later [26th April 1800] Sir John Malcolm, on his first mission to Persia, visited Muscat and concluded a second Treaty with Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad, according to which it was agreed "that an English gentleman of respectability on the part of the Honourable Company, shall always reside at the port of Muscat, and be an Agent through whom all intercourse between the States shall be conducted, in order that the actions of each Government may be fairly and justly stated, and that no opportunity may be offered to designing men, who are ever eager to promote dissensions, and that the friendship of the two States may remain unshook till the end of time, and till the sun and moon have finished their revolving career."

Four years after the conclusion of this Treaty (*viz.*, 14th November 1804) Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad was killed in a sea-fight with some hostile tribes. Several of his brothers, and especially Saiyad Kais of Sohar, disputed the succession of his two young sons, who, however, sought the protection of their cousin Saiyad Badr bin Saif. The latter, with the help of the Wahabis, overcame all resistance, and in a manner established an administration under his guidance. The Wahabis, however, gained considerable ascendancy in Oman; till they were eventually expelled by the Turks. In 1807 Saiyad Said, the second son of Saiyad Sultan bin Ahmad, succeeded to supreme power, and ruled for well-nigh half a century. He cultivated friendly relations with the British, by whom he was supported in no small degree. The Wahabis were very troublesome throughout his reign; and in 1809 the British Government helped him with an armed force against Wahabi pirates. In 1819 another expedition had to be despatched against these filibusters; and there were further Wahabi disturbances in 1832, 1845 and 1852, all of which had to be overcome by armed force.

In 1822 a Treaty for the suppression of Slave Trade was concluded with Saiyad Said. The terms of this Treaty were arranged in the form of a number of requisitions on the part of the British Government, and of affirmative answers to them from the Sultan of Muscat. The requisitions were made on behalf of the East India Company by Captain Moresby,

Commander of the ship *Meani*. The first requisition ran thus :—"That you (the Imam) instruct all the officers in your dominions to prevent the subjects from selling slaves to Christians of all nations." The second requisition required : "That you do issue order to all your officers, who are on your part throughout your dominions, as well as in Zanzibar and in other places, to the effect that if they discover persons on board any Arab vessel buying slaves for the purpose of taking them to Christian countries, they (the officers) should seize such vessel with all she may contain, and should send to you the Nakhoda (*i.e.*, the Commander) and the crew, in order that you may punish them." Various conditions for surveillance and for giving effect to this Treaty were laid down, and the right of vessels suspected of carrying slaves was conceded to British war-vessels within certain limits. With regard to these limits a great deal of further negotiation took place and they were subsequently modified by Treaty.

In 1839 a Treaty of Commerce was concluded with Saiyad Said. The text of this Treaty consisted of seventeen Articles ; and according to the first of these British subjects were to "have full liberty to enter, reside in, trade with, and pass with, their merchandise through all parts of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat, and shall in those dominions enjoy all the privileges and advantages, with respect to commerce or otherwise, which are or may be accorded therein to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation." Similar privileges were conceded to the subjects of the Sultan of Muscat with regard to British territory. By Article III "The two high contracting parties acknowledge reciprocally to each other the right of appointing Consuls to reside in each other's dominions wherever the interests of commerce may require the presence of such officers, and such Consuls shall, at all times, be placed in the country in which they reside on the footing of the Consuls of the most favoured nations." By Article IX it was prescribed that "no duty exceeding 5 per cent. shall be levied at the place of entry in the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat on any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the dominions of Her Britannic Majesty imported by British vessels, &c. * * *

* * *". The remaining articles of the Treaty prescribe the conditions under which it was to be worked ; while Article XIV stipulated that relief should be granted to distressed British vessels along the coast of the Sultan's dominions ; and similar relief was to be granted to ships belonging to Muscat subjects which were in distress within British waters. This Treaty of commerce, moreover, confirmed the previous Anti-slave Trade Treaty.

In 1845 another Treaty was concluded, according to which the Sultan of Muscat put a stop to the export of slaves from his African dominions and their import into his Asiatic dominions.

Sultan Saiyad Said also concluded Treaties of Commerce with the United States of America in 1833 and with France in 1844. The terms of these Treaties were substantially the same as those of the Treaty of Commerce concluded with the British Government in 1839, and the right was conceded both to the United States and to France of appointing Consular officers within the Sultan of Muscat's dominions, and such Officials were to be treated on the same footing as the Consuls of the most favoured nations. The United States availed themselves of this right in 1880 and appointed a Consul, while France in the following year appointed a Consular Agent.

During the latter part of Saiyad Said's reign a great deal of confusion ensued at Muscat. He had made Zanzibar his Head-quarters since 1840, and his prolonged absence naturally gave occasion to disorders. He died in 1856, and had some time previously expressed the wish that his son, Saiyad Thowaynee, should succeed to his Muscat dominions and his other son, Saiyad Majid, to his Zanzibar territories. Saiyad Thowaynee, however, claimed suzerainty over Zanzibar; and a quarrel ensued. The matter was referred to the arbitration of Lord Canning, Governor-General of India, and in 1861 he gave his award; the terms of which it will be preferable to quote verbatim from Lord Canning's letter to Saiyad Thowaynee, Sultan of Muscat, dated 2nd April 1861, Fort William, Calcutta :—

"Beloved and esteemed Friend! I address Your Highness on the subject of the unhappy differences which have arisen between yourself and Your Highness' brother, the ruler of Zanzibar, and for the settlement of which Your Highness has engaged to accept the arbitration of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Having regard to the friendly relations which have always existed between the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and the Government of Oman and Zanzibar, and desiring to prevent war between kinsmen, I accepted the charge of arbitration between you, and in order to obtain the fullest knowledge of all the points in dispute, I directed the Government of Bombay to send an officer to Muscat and Zanzibar to make the necessary enquiries. Brigadier Coghlan was selected for this purpose, an officer in whose judgment intelligence and impartiality the Government of India reposes the utmost confidence.

Brigadier Coghlan has submitted a full and clear report of all the questions at issue between Your Highness and your brother.

I have given my most careful attention to each of these questions.

The terms of my decision are as follows :—

1st.—That His Highness Saiyed Majid be declared ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of His late Highness Saiyad Said.

2nd.—That the ruler of Zanzibar pay annually to the ruler of Muscat a subsidy of 40,000 crowns.

3rd.—That His Highness Saiyad Majid pay to His Highness Saiyad Jhowaynee the arrears of subsidy for two years; or 80,000 crowns.

I am satisfied that these terms are just and honourable to both of you, and as you have deliberately and solemnly accepted my arbitration, I expect that you will cheerfully and faithfully abide by them, and that they will be carried out without unnecessary delay.

The annual payment of 40,000 crowns is not to be understood as a recognition of the dependence of Zanzibar upon Muscat, neither is it to be considered as merely personal between Your Highness and your Brother, Saiyad Majid. It is to extend to your respective successors, and is to be held to be a final and permanent arrangement, compensating the ruler of Muscat for the abandonment of all claims upon Zanzibar, and adjusting the inequality between the two inheritances derived from your father, His Highness Saiyad Said, the venerated friend of the British Government, which two inheritances are henceforward distinct and separate.

I am your Highness's

Sincere friend and well-wisher,

(Signed) CANNING."

This award was readily accepted and Saiyad Thowaynee, in reply to Lord Canning, remarked "what Your Excellency has stated is most satisfactory to us, more especially as regards your award betwixt us and our brother Majid. We heartily accept the same, and are at a loss to express our regret for having occasioned you so much trouble, and our appreciation of the kindness which has been manifested towards us in this matter. * * * * *

"What your exalted Excellency may require in any form from your attached friend, a hint alone will suffice for its accomplishment, and we shall feel honoured in executing it."

The great political event of Saiyad Thowaynee's reign was the conclusion in 1862 of a Treaty between England and

France, according to which both parties declared that they would respect the independence of Muscat and Zanzibar. The terms of this Treaty are as follows:—

“Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the importance of maintaining the independence of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to respect the independence of these Sovereigns.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, and the Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare, in consequence that their said Majesties take reciprocally that engagement.

Witness whereof the undersigned have signed the present Declaration and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris.

(Signed) COWLEY.

The 10th March 1862. („) DE THOUVENAL.”

It is on this Treaty and on the Treaty of Commerce of 1844 that France now maintains that she possesses more or less identical rights with great Britain at Muscat.

In 1864 Saiyad Thowaynee entered into an agreement with the British Government for the extension of Telegraphs in his Muscat dominions, and in the following year agreed to further similar extensions into Mekran, &c. It is, perhaps, needless to state that Saiyad Thowaynee's reign was much perturbed by internal troubles, and in 1866 he was assassinated at Sohar, while operating against the Wahabis. Suspicion strongly pointed to his son Saiyad Salim as the murderer, and the British Government declared that it was compelled to suspend friendly relations with him in his capacity as the Ruler of Muscat. A panic ensued, and trade was paralysed at Muscat; but, as the people of the locality accepted Saiyad Salim as their Ruler, the British Government informed the native merchants, who were its subjects, that they might safely resume trade with that port. A Native Agent was now appointed; and in September 1866 Saiyad Salim was recognised by the British Government. In the following year the appointments of a British Political Agent was revived. Saiyad Salim's *regime*, however, was shortlived; troubles broke out, and in 1868 he was driven from power by his brother-in-law, Azam bin Kaïs, who was the Chief of Rostak. Further disorders ensued, and finally in 1871 Saiyad Turki, who was a brother of the assassinated Saiyad Said, and consequently uncle of Saiyad Salim,

succeeded in acquiring the throne of Muscat ; and in June 1871 he was formally recognised by the British Government.

Troubles of various sorts again broke out, and Saiyad Salim proved very refractory, till he was eventually arrested by H. M. S. *Daphne*, and was interned in the Hyderabad Fort (Sind) ; where he died in 1876.

Difficulties now arose about the Zanzibar subsidy, and the Ruler, Saiyad Majid, refused to pay it on the ground that Saiyad Turki belonged to another branch of the family than the one to which the subsidy was awarded. The British Government, however, disallowed this objection, and guaranteed the payment of the subsidy through the Political Agent. The Zanzibar Ruler had also objected to pay the subsidy to the previous Sultan, Saiyad Salim, on the ground of his supposed assassination of his father, but here also the objection was disallowed.

In 1886, Saiyad Turki was created an Honorary Grand Commander of the Star of India (G. C. S. I.) ; and the British Government declared that they would support him in case of attacks being made on Muscat. This declaration had the effect of considerably strengthening his authority. On 4th June, 1884, Saiyad Turki died ; leaving three sons, the second of whom, Saiyad Faisal, the present Sultan, succeeded him ; and in 1890 the British Government recognised the latter as Ruler of Muscat.

In the following year (1891) a Treaty of Commerce was concluded with Saiyad Faisal, superseding the commercial Treaty of 1839. In the new Treaty the stipulations of the old one were substantially retained ; but the old Treaty was considerably amplified. Subjects of Indian National States were for the purposes of the new Treaty included under the designation of British subjects. Moreover, it was stipulated that the latter were to enjoy ex-territoriality, being subject to special Consular jurisdiction. Complete religious toleration was also secured for British subjects in Muscat, with the right to erect places of worship ; and it was agreed that the Treaty should, after the lapse of twelve years from the date of conclusion, be subject to revision on either party giving twelve months' notice.

The events which have transpired at Muscat, subsequent to the conclusion of this Treaty, are matters of current history, which must be quite familiar to most readers

ART. XII.—THE ASTRONOMY OF THE HINDUS.

Hindu Astronomy. By W. Brennand. With thirteen Illustrations and numerous Diagrams. London: Published by Chas. Straker & Sons, Ltd., 1896.

Astronomy of the Hindus. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I, 1844.

Oriental Astronomy. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XIII, 1850.

AMONG subjects connected with the ancient civilisation of the people of India, there is, perhaps, none that has been more closely investigated, or has given rise to a greater amount of controversy, than that of Hindu Astronomy. It was dealt with at considerable length in a very able paper in the second number of the *Calcutta Review*, fifty-six years ago, and again in the twenty-fifth number, in connexion with the publication of the Rev. H. R. Hoisington's Translation of certain Tamil treatises, one of them of the Thirteenth Century, and the other of modern date. The first of these papers, however, was concerned mainly with the much debated question of the antiquity of the celebrated Tirvalore Tables, or rather of the observations on which they are based, and was of a somewhat polemical character; while the second was chiefly devoted to an examination of the methods followed in the calculation of eclipses of the sun and moon and certain other astronomical events, and is too purely technical to be of much interest to the general reader.

Mr. Brennand's work is of a more general character, and possesses the merit of bringing into a focus the most important of the facts connected with the subject, and dealing with the questions they raise from an independent standpoint. In this article we do not propose to follow him further than can conveniently be done without entering into technicalities which only the mathematical reader would be likely to understand.

We may appropriately set out, however, by recalling the main points of the controversy regarding the Tirvalore Tables to which we have just referred, and stating the conclusion to which the facts are now generally admitted to point.

The Tables in question, then, were communicated by the Brahmins of Tirvalore to Le Gentil, a French astronomer who came to India for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus in 1769, and were published by him in the *Memoirs of the Academy of 1772*.

The Tables start from midnight of the 17th February, 3102 B. C., coinciding with the time assigned by the Hindus to the commencement of the present era, or Kali Yug, and

they indicate the occurrence at that time of a conjunction of the planets. The question which arose and which formed the subject of hot debate for many years was whether the Tables were based on contemporary observation, or whether they were constructed by calculating backwards from data furnished by observation of the actual positions of the sun, moon and planets at a much later date. The former theory was espoused by the unfortunate M. Bailly, who was the first to discuss the Tables in detail in his *Traite de l'Astronomie Indienne*, and at first adopted by Professor Playfair, who read a paper on M. Bailly's investigations before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1790, in which, in introducing the subject, he said: "The fact is that, notwithstanding the most profound respect for the learning and abilities of the author of '*L'Astronomie Indienne*,' I entered on the study of the work not without a portion of the scepticism which whatever is new and extraordinary ought to excite, and set about verifying the calculations and examining the reasons in it, with the most scrupulous attention. The result was an entire conviction of the accuracy of the one, and of the solidity of the other."

The conclusions of Bailly and Playfair were, however, contested with great learning and force by Mr. Bentley, in a paper on the Antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, and the formation of the Astronomical Cycles therein contained, which was laid before the Asiatic Society and published in Vol. VI of the Asiatic Researches. Bentley's views were supported by the French Astronomer and Mathematician de Lambre, who went into the discussion at length in his "*Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*," published in 1817. The celebrated La Place, as appears from the remarks on the subject in his "*Système du Monde*," arrived at the same conclusion, independently, it would seem, of Bentley. Finally Professor Playfair, in a paper in the *Edinburgh Review* published in 1817, after the appearance of de Lambre's work, practically recanted his former opinion.

La Place's pronouncement, though stated in very general terms, may advantageously be quoted here:

"The origin of astronomy in Persia and in India, as among all other nations, is lost in the obscurity of the first period of their history. The Indian tables indicate an astronomy in a state of considerable advancement, but every thing leads us to believe that they are not of high antiquity. And here it is with pain that I differ from the opinion of an illustrious and unfortunate friend, whose death, the subject of endless grief and regret, is a fearful instance of the inconstancy of popular favor.* After having rendered his life honourable by his labours,

* Bailly was one of the most zealous promoters of the French revolution: He was chosen president of the *Tiers état* and of the National Assembly, and was appointed Mayor of Paris. In the discharge of the duties of this office he was obliged to

useful to science and the human race, as well as by his virtues and a noble character, he fell a victim to the most bloody tyranny, opposing the calmness and dignity of integrity to the outrages of a people who had idolized him. The Indian tables have two principal epochs, which go back, the one to the year 3102 before our era, and the other to 1419 (of our era). These epochs are connected together by the motions of the sun, moon and planets in such a way, that, setting out from the positions which the tables assign to these bodies at the second epoch, and calculating back to the first by means of the tables, we find the general conjunction which they suppose at this epoch. The celebrated philosopher of whom I have just spoken, Bailly, has sought to establish in his *Treatise on the Indian Astronomy*, that this first epoch was founded on observations. Notwithstanding his proofs, set forth with that clearness which he knew how to spread over the most abstruse subjects, I regard it as very probable that the epoch was imagined in order to give a common origin in the zodiac to the motions of the heavenly bodies. Our latest astronomical tables, brought to considerable perfection by the comparison of theory with a vast number of most accurate observations, do not allow us to admit the conjunction supposed in the Indian tables. Indeed, they shew us in this respect differences far greater than any errors of which they may be susceptible. In truth, some elements of the Indian Astronomy could only have the amount which they assign to them at an enormously long period before our era; for example, in order to find their equation of the sun's centre we must go back to 6000 years before that era. But independently of the errors of their determinations, it should be observed that they have considered the inequalities (irregularities in the motions) of the sun and moon only in relation to eclipses, in which the annual equation of the moon is added to the equation of the sun's centre, and increases it by a quantity nearly equal to the difference of its true value. Several elements, such as the equations of the centres of Jupiter and Mars, are very different in the Indian tables from what they ought to have been at the commencement of their epoch. The *ensemble* of the tables, and especially the impossibility of the general conjunction which they suppose, prove that they have been constructed, or at least connected, in modern times. This conclusion is further borne out by the mean motions which they assign to the moon as referred to her perigee, her nodes and the sun, which, being more rapid than as given by Ptolemy, prove that the tables containing them are subsequent to that astronomer; for we have seen that these motions are subject to an acceleration from age to age."

The theory that the Tirvalore Tables were the outcome of contemporary, or quasi contemporary, observation is assailable by more lines of argument than one. As will have been already gathered, the main argument against their having been based on the results of contemporary, or quasi contemporary, observation depends on the fact that, while they assume a general conjunction of the planets in February 3102, calculations based on the results of modern scientific investigation

employ forcible measures to repress the mad violence of the men by whose acclamations he was raised to it. He was, consequently, denounced as an enemy to the republic, and condemned to die the death of a traitor. His brutal murderers studiously protracted and increased his sufferings, till he was released from all earthly suffering by the guillotine. Writers of all parties seem to give Bailly the character of being an amiable man, and a man of much integrity.—Ed. C. R.

show that no such conjunction could have taken place at or near that time. Jupiter and Mercury, indeed, were then in the same degree of the Ecliptic; but Mars was 8° and Saturn 17° distant, while Venus was in quite a different part of the Heavens. M. Bailly's suggestion that a taste for the marvellous led the authors of the Tables to record a general conjunction in spite of these discrepancies is clearly inadmissible and inconsistent with the general exactitude of Hindu Astronomical observation, so far as exactitude was possible with the appliances at their disposal.

The matter of the conjunction of the planets is, however, far from being the only one in respect of which the Tables are in error to an extent irreconcilable with the theory of their being based on contemporary observation. The longitude they assign to the sun, for instance, is in excess of its true longitude at the time by more than 3° . The obliquity assigned to the Ecliptic is greater, by $8' 47''$, than it should have been, and the length of the tropical year is given as $1' 5\frac{1}{2}''$ in excess of the true length.

On the other hand, though there is an error of $53'$ in the position assigned to the equinoctial point; this is smaller by nearly 3° than the error that would have resulted from calculating back from the date when the point of origin for longitudes on the Hindu Ecliptic was fixed, *viz.*, the latter end of the sixth century of our era, and this, taken by itself, would, no doubt, make in favour of the antiquity of the Tables. But on this point the writer of the article in Vol. I of the *Calcutta Review* pertinently observes that "the very same principle that would lead us to overlook a slight error in the midst of much important truth, and would not permit us, were such the state of the case, to decide against the reality of the epoch, seems to require us in the opposite case to look upon a single truth, in the midst of much error, as only a somewhat remarkable coincidence."

The suggestion of the same writer as to the explanation of the coincidence, if somewhat speculative, is ingenious. He says:

The Hindu rate of precession, as we have repeatedly stated, is erroneous. The error is not very great, yet it is so considerable, that its accumulation during a considerable number of years of continuous observation would inevitably betray its existence. Now, suppose, that such a course of observation were conducted three or four centuries, say for example the first four centuries from the Christian era. Suppose that at the beginning of this period rude tables existed, calculated back to the period of the Kali-yug on the supposition of an erroneous precession, and forward to the year 499 A. D. so as to give the longitude of the first point of the moveable zodiac, or the beginning of the constellation Aries, to be nothing at this latter epoch. The observations that we have supposed would sufficiently shew the erroneousness

of the rate of precession formerly in use; and a simple operation would shew what was the correct position of the equinoctial point at the Kali-yug; another, equally simple operation would shew what rate of precession would reconcile the erroneous determination of the equinox for the year 499, with the true one now ascertained for the year—3102. The distance of the equinoctial points for these two periods being 54° , and the elapsed time being 3600 years, the rate required would be at once found to be $54''$. The position of the equinox for the remote period being thus rectified, the erroneous determination of the comparatively modern period, and also the erroneous rate of precession by means of which the rectification was effected, have been unfortunately retained; and accordingly the tables, as they now exist, make the vernal equinox coincide with the first point of the constellation Aries in the year 3600 of the Kali-yug, or 499 of the Christian era; whereas they were at that period about $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ apart. This is no doubt only a supposition, and our scientific readers will, of course, value it according to their own judgments; but, in estimating it, let it be remembered that it satisfactorily accounts for the error in the rate of precession, which otherwise it were scarcely possible to account for. Observations at considerably distant periods are needful to determine the precession with even an approach to accuracy; but we cannot conceive that a recorded observation at the period of the Kali-yug, of half the accuracy that Bailly assigns to those that he supposes to have been then made and recorded, compared with a moderately accurate one some centuries after, should not have given it with more accuracy than as we find it in the Hindu system. When even Hipparchus, by his own observation and such traditionary fragments as he could collect from the rude observations, of his predecessors, was able to ascertain it with such accuracy that we make use of his rate even now, with only the small correction of La Grange and La Place, we cannot conceive that the many astronomers who, we know, lived among the Hindus from the Christian era down to the fifteenth century, could have concurred in admitting an error which in 600 years would amount to $34'$ in the position of every one of the heavenly bodies. We therefore, can think no supposition more natural, than that this error was introduced to neutralize a previous error, and not discarded when the end for which it was introduced was accomplished.

The true rate of precession, it may be noted, is slightly over $50''$, or about $4''$ less than the rate accepted by the ancient Hindus.

We think it will be generally admitted that, altogether, the evidence that the Tirvalore Tables were calculated back from the data furnished by observations of a much later date is overwhelming.

At the same time the question hardly possesses the importance which the writer of the article already more than once referred to attaches to it. It was never claimed, even by M. Bailly, that the Tirvalore Tables were a record of observations made by the Hindus in the year 3102 B. C., but that they were derived by the Hindus from an extraneous source, to wit from a great people of Northern Asia of whom they were an offshoot. If, as may be considered to be proved beyond reasonable doubt, the Tables were constructed by Hindus at a much later period by a process of calculating back from contemporary or

recent observations, the fact would, no doubt, create a strong presumption that, whatever the accomplishments of their ancestry in this field may have been, they themselves had preserved no records of observations dating back to the remote period to which the Tables extended. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence that, at least as far back as the middle of the 14th Century B. C., the Hindus had attained to a knowledge of astronomy, as far as concerned the motions of the sun, moon and planets relatively to the earth and one another, as well as to the fixed stars, which could have been acquired only as the result of long-continued careful observation and acute calculation. Upon the state of astronomical science among their ancestry, whether in Northern Asia, or elsewhere, at the commencement of the Kali-Yug, no light is, of course, thrown by the Tables. But in the light of existing knowledge of the history of civilisation, there would be nothing very startling in the discovery, either in Egypt, or in Mesopotamia, or in North-Western Asia, of proof that, as far back as 3102 B. C., it had reached a stage at which the construction of Tables such as those of Tirvalore from actual observation would have been quite possible.

From the point of view of the present day, indeed, both the warmth which the old Reviewer imports into the discussion and the satisfaction he derives from the demolition of the Tables as evidence of the antiquity of Hindu astronomy, are almost amusing, as well as instructive. "Thus, then," he exclaims, "the antiquity of the Hindu astronomy is virtually abandoned by its most skillful, and withal most ingenuous, advocate. And with it fall the arguments that were once attempted to be based upon it to the prejudice of the authenticity of the chronology and history of the sacred writings. It is a most striking fact that thus have perished all the arguments that have been so zealously deduced from every source against the truth of these wondrous and blessed records."

It is not too much to say that the proofs of the high antiquity of human civilisation that have been brought to light since these words were written are so overwhelming that it would not add sensibly to their cumulative force if the Tirvalore Tables were re-habilitated to-morrow.

In connexion with the question of the origin of their astronomical system, it is to be observed that, from the earliest period, the Hindus, in common with all the ancient nations, including the Greeks and Egyptians, divided the Ecliptic into twelve parts, or signs of the Zodiac, corresponding with the twelve solar months; secondly, that in common with the other Asiatic nations, they further divided the Ecliptic into twenty-eight lunar mansions, or asterisms, whereas such a division appears to have had no place in the astronomy of the Greeks,

and, though it was known to the Egyptians at a comparatively late date, was not used by them—these asterisms, it may be added, were equal among the Hindus, but very unequal among the Chinese—; thirdly, that, in the course of time, they substituted, for the original division into twenty-eight lunar asterisms of $12\frac{1}{2}$ degrees each; a division into twenty-seven lunar asterisms of $13^{\circ} 20'$ each; fourthly, that they eventually fixed, once for all, the point of origin for their computations on the Ecliptic, a feature which, as Mr. Brennand remarks, constitutes one of the fundamental differences between their system and that of European nations, who measure their celestial longitudes by arcs of the Ecliptic whose origin is the equinoctial point at the time of the observation.

These facts would seem to indicate a common primary origin for all the astronomic systems of ancient nations; and subsequent differentiations, first of the Asiatic, including the Hindu, from the western systems, and finally of the Hindu system from the other Asiatic systems; the latter differentiation reaching its completion in the permanent fixation of the first point of the Ecliptic just referred to.

Several other features were common to the various Asiatic systems. They had, for example the same days of the week, presided over by the sun, the moon and the five planets. Except in the case of the Chinese, the figures representing the signs of the Zodiac were, for the most part, the same. They recognised in common a cycle of sixty years, known in India as the cycle of Vrihaspati, or Jupiter. Mr. Brennand thus summarises the facts pointing to the conclusion of a common origin for the astronomy of the Eastern nations:—“(1) They had a like religious belief; (2) A like number of days of the week, with like names; (3) Similar divisions of the Ecliptic; (4) The same signs of the Zodiac; and (5) Similar months of the year. Also (6) A like number of Lunar Constellations; (7) A like use of the Celestial Sphere; (8) A like use of the Gnomon; (9) A like fantastical nomenclature of Constellations; (10) Like ideas concerning mythology; and (11) Similar Cycles of sixty years; and no doubt other similarities might be traced.

“Whatever Controversies have arisen with regard to the details of differences or similarities between the systems of astronomy obtaining in various Countries; whatever, also, may be the true facts as to the order in which each nation may have acquired its system, there is, at any rate, enough in those similarities to circumstantially establish, as a truth, the conjecture that the foundation of Prehistoric astronomy is to be found among those peoples of Central Asia who are generally referred to as the Aryan race.”

Mr. Brennand suggests, no doubt rightly, that the reason for the reduction of the number of the Lunar Asterisms from twenty-eight to twenty-seven was the fact that, as the actual time of the mean sidereal revolution is 27'3216 days, 27 is the nearest integer suitable for the division of the Ecliptic. Moreover, he observes, it was a more convenient number, than 28, for calculation, in reducing observations to a system.

For each of their Asterisms the Hindus selected a particular fixed star, either in the Ecliptic or in its neighbourhood, and generally the most conspicuous star in the Asterism within these limits, which they called its *Yoga-tara*, the arc of longitude between this star and the initial point of the Asterism on the Ecliptic being called the *bhoga* of the Asterism, while the cluster of stars to which it belonged was called the *Nacshatra*.

The main object of Hindu Astronomical observations being the determination of times and seasons; of critical periods, according to their lights, in the history of the universe, or in the fortunes of mankind, which they believed to be profoundly influenced by the relative positions of the sun, moon and planets; by the conjunctions of the planets with the fixed stars, or occultations of the stars and planets by the moon; and by eclipses, they naturally confined their attention mainly to the stars immediately to the North or South of the Ecliptic which lay in the moon's path and were thus liable to be occultated by it, or to be in conjunction with it or the planets. Their system was thus rendered to a great extent independent of the use of any but the simplest instruments.

"At certain times of the year," remarks Mr. Brennand, "the beautiful clear Indian sky, visible all round from the housetops, as a great hemisphere, is peculiarly favourable for astronomical observations; and the ancient astronomer, seated on his *chunam* terrace in the pleasant cool evenings, had little need of astronomical instruments, while patiently watching the moon and the planets in their course through the Zodiacal stars."

"The well-known *Yoga-taras* among the fixed stars, and which the planets pass on their way form so many immovable points, and, like milestones on a road, furnish him with his means of observation. The relative times of passing of such points suggested methods of calculation somewhat similar to those employed by ourselves in solving simple questions, such, for instance, as the determination of the time when two hands of a clock in conjunction will be together again after any number of revolutions of either of them, or

when we seek for the synodic periods of the planets, the times of new and full moon, and other problems of a like nature, data for the solution of which were well known in India many centuries before they were known in Europe; such problems formed the constant subject matter of the algebra of the Hindus, as contained in their astronomical works of the first centuries of the Christian Era."

In connexion with the controversy regarding the origin of the tables of Tirvalore, we observed that, though it may be regarded as practically certain that the commencement of the Kali-Yuga in 3102 B. C. was determined by a process of backward calculation, clear evidence exists that astronomical observations were made and recorded by the Hindus at a very remote period. The earliest observation of which it can be said with any confidence that we have a record seems to have been made in or about 1590 B. C., when the so-called "line of the Rishis" coincided with the passing of the Solstitial Colure through the first point of the constellation of Magha.

The next period which is known to have served as a sort of landmark to the earlier Hindu astronomers, and which there is good reason to believe was determined by actual observation, was that in which the Southern Solstice was at a point of $3^{\circ} 20'$ in Dhanishta, the Vernal Equinox corresponding with the first point of Krittika, which is calculated by Bentley to have been about 1426 B. C.

The most important of all the dates in the history of Hindu astronomy, *viz.*, that when the point of origin for longitudes on the Ecliptic was permanently fixed at the first point of Aswini, corresponding to a point of the Ecliptic 10° East of the star Revati, or γ Piscium, was, however, of much later date. The exact period has been somewhat variously calculated by different authorities, according to the value assigned by them to the annual precession of the Equinoctial point, Colebrooke making it about 579 A. D., Bentley about 538 A. D., and Burgess about 570 A. D. The latter date, which appears to have been calculated with a mean annual rate of precession of $50''$, is probably a close approximation to the truth.

Unbounded ridicule has been cast upon the prodigious periods assigned by the Hindus to the Kalpa, or day of Brahma, and its sub-divisions. To each Kalpa, at the end of which the whole universe was believed to have been destroyed, they assigned 4,320,000,000 solar years. The Maha-Yuga, or great age, which was reckoned as a thousandth part of a Kalpa, consequently consisted of 4,320,000 years; and this, again, was subdivided into four epochs—the Krita Yuga, to which

1,728,000 solar years were assigned; the Trita Yuga, of 1,296,000 solar years; the Dwapara Yuga of 864,000 years, and the Kali Yuga, of 432,000 years. At the beginning of each of these epochs there was believed to have been a general conjunction of the moveable celestial bodies, marking a critical period in the history of the universe.

Seventy-one Maha Yugas, aggregating 306,720,000 solar years, constituted a Manuwantara, and successive Manu-wantas were believed to have been marked by alternate creations and destructions of particular worlds.

While the association of these special periods with particular crises in the universal process was, of course, a pure figment of the imagination, the mere magnitude of the figures, at all events, for the last Maha Yuga, is more nearly in accord with what the results of modern scientific investigation show to have been the probable course of events on our Globe than the crude cosmogony of the Book of Genesis; while it is reasonable to suppose, if, indeed, it does not necessarily follow, that the evolution of the stellar universe has occupied a period of which the age of our earth represents no more than an insignificant fraction.

Mr. Brennand, however, puts forward an ingenious and plausible theory of the true meaning and purpose of these enormous figures, *viz.*, that the number of 4,320,000 assigned to the years of the Maha Yuga, and that of 4,320,000,000 assigned to the years of the Kalpa, were really adopted as means of facilitating astronomical calculations in the absence of a decimal system, and are susceptible of rational explanation.

"The use," he says, "of the great numbers (4,320,000 years, or 1,577,917,828 days), representing the years and days in a Maha Yuga, and the corresponding number of revolutions described by each of the planets in that time, might be exemplified in a variety of cases; but one or two examples will be sufficient here. They will illustrate the ease with which such calculations are made. Other examples as proposed in some of the Siddhantas have been already given.

Using the subjoined table, formed from the words by which they are expressed in the Surya Siddhanta:—

| | | Number of revolutions in a Great Yuga. |
|----------|-----|---|
| The Sun | ... | 4,320,000 |
| Mercury | ... | 17,937,060 |
| Venus | ... | 7,022,376 |
| Mars | ... | 2,296,832 |
| Jupiter | ... | 364,220 |
| Saturn | ... | 146,568 |
| The Moon | ... | 57,753,336 |
| | | and ... 53,433,336 Synodic revolutions. |

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|---------|-----------------------------------|
| The Moon's Apogee | ... | 488,203 | |
| „ Node | ... | 232,238 | |
| | | | Number of days in a Great Yuga |
| Sidereal days | ... | ... | 1,582,237,82 |
| Solar days | ... | ... | 1,577,917,82 |
| Lunar days | ... | ... | 1,603,000,08 |

Let it be required to determine the number of revolutions and parts of a revolution, made by the moon in a year.

In the column of the table Surya Siddhanta, the number of revolutions of the moon in a Maha Yuga is given, 57,753,336 dividing this number by 4,320,000, the years in a Maha Yuga and in the successive divisors, omitting the factors 12, 30, 60 we have

$$\begin{array}{r} 4,320,000 \overline{) 57,753,336} \text{ (13 revolutions,} \\ 56,160,000 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 360,000 \overline{) 1,593,336} \text{ (4 signs,} \\ 1,440,000 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 12,000 \overline{) 153,336} \text{ (12}^\circ, \\ 144,000 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 200 \overline{) 9,336} \text{ (46',} \\ 9,200 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 136 \\ \hline 200 \end{array} = 17'.$$

That is to say, this makes 13 revolutions 4 signs $12^\circ 46\frac{1}{2}$ in one year.

As a second example, let it be required to find the length of the sidereal year, from the days in a Maha Yuga. Reversing the process, and dividing the days by the apparent revolution of the sun, and omitting in succeeding divisors the factors 24, 60 and 60 we have

$$\begin{array}{r} 4,320,000 \overline{) 1,577,917,800} \text{ (365 days,} \\ 1,576,800,000 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 180,000 \overline{) 1,117,800} \text{ (6 hours,} \\ 1,080,000 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 3,000 \overline{) 37,800} \text{ (12 minutes,} \\ 36,000 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 50 \overline{) 1,800} \text{ (36 seconds,} \\ 1,800 \end{array}$$

The sidereal year = 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds.

A still more elaborate explanation is given of the form— $(14 \times 714 + 4) 432,000$ —in which the Kalpa was constructed.

Regarding the causes of the motions and apparent motions of the heavenly bodies, the Ancient Hindus entertained the most extravagant notions. The received view was that, in common with the fixed stars, the sun, moon and planets were daily carried Westward by a great wind, or æther, called Pravaha, and that the apparent Easterly motion of the planets, in their orbits was due to the retarding influence of the stars; while the “irregular motions were produced by invisible Deities at the apogees and the nodes of the different orbits, those at the apogees attracting them unequally by means of reins of winds, thus guiding them in their course, whilst the others, situated at the nodes, deflected to the North or South of the Ecliptic.”

Absurd as all this may seem, it is to be observed that a somewhat similar notion, that of vortices, prevailed in Europe down to comparatively recent times.

The theory common to the Hindus and the Chinese, that eclipses of the sun and moon were caused by attempts of mighty dragons or other monsters to devour those luminaries which is still accepted implicitly by the multitude, is well known. The later Hindu astronomers, however, had truer notions of the nature of these phenomena, as may be gathered from the following passages from the Siddhanta Siromani of Bhaskara, quoted by Mr. Breunand:—

“The moon, moving like a cloud in a lower sphere, overtakes the sun, hence it arises that the Western side of the sun’s disc is first obscured, and that the Eastern side is the last part relieved from the moon’s dark body; and to some places the sun is eclipsed, and to others he is not eclipsed.”—(Siddhanta Siromani, ch. viii., par. 1.)

“At the change of the moon, it often happens that an observer placed at the centre of the earth, would find the sun, when far from the Zenith, obscured by the intervening body of the moon; whilst another observer on the surface of the earth will not, at the same time, find him to be so obscured, as the moon will appear to him to be depressed from the line of vision extending from his eye to the sun. Hence arises the necessity for the correction of parallax in celestial longitudes, and parallax in latitude in Solar eclipses, in consequence of the difference of the distances of the sun and moon. (id., par. 2).

“When the sun and moon are in opposition, the earth’s shadow envelopes the moon in darkness. As the moon is actually enveloped in darkness, its eclipse is equally seen by

every one on the earth's surface, and as the earth's shadow and the moon which enters it are at the same distance from the earth, there is, therefore, no call for the correction of the parallax in a Lunar eclipse. (id., par. 3).

"As the moon moving eastward enters the dark shadow of the earth, therefore its Eastern side is first of all involved in obscurity, and its Western is the last portion of its disc which emerges from darkness, as it advances in its course. (id., par. 4).

"As the sun is a body of vast size, and the earth insignificantly small in comparison, the shadow made by the sun from the earth is, therefore, of a conical form, terminating in a sharp point. It extends to a distance considerably beyond that of the moon's orbit. (id., par. 5).

"The length of the earth's shadow and its breadth at the part traversed by the moon may be easily found by proportion. (id., par. 6).

Indeed Bhaskara seems to have had more than a glimmering of gravitation, though there is nothing to show that he recognised the universality of gravity, or understood its laws.

"If," he says, "the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first, that is, the earth?" * * *

The earth attracts any unsupported heavy thing towards it. The thing appears to be falling, but it is in a state of being drawn to the earth. The ethereal expanse being equally outspread all around, where can the earth fall?"

Bhaskara, however, like certain modern theologians who while unable to dispute the truths of science, shrink from admitting their incompatibility with the letter of Scriptures, was at considerable pains to show how such rationalistic views might be reconciled with the Shastras.

ART. XIII.—THE CASE OF THE MUNDAS.

THE recent outbreak among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur adds one more to the many recorded examples of the political danger that, in the absence of suitable precautions, is apt to arise out of the contact of the aboriginal races of India with the Aryan landlord as he exists under the ægis of British law.

The Mundas are one of the two non-Aryan tribes, described in common as Kols, that have settled from a remote period in the uplands of Chota Nagpur, the other being the Uraons. Unlike the Uraons, who are Dravidians, they are said to be of Kolarian origin, and, though resembling the Uraons in religion and social customs, do not intermarry with them. In his speech in introducing the abortive Commutation Bill in the Bengal Council, three years ago, Mr. Grimley gave the following account of the first settlement and early agrarian condition of these primitive people.

“From the traditions handed down,” he said, “it appears that some eight or ten centuries ago, being driven out of Bihar, they sought refuge in the central table-land of Chota Nagpur, then known as the ‘Jharkhand’ or forest tract, which was well adapted for defence, the approaches to it being precipitous paths, narrow defiles, or the beds of rivers that have their source on the plateaux. This central portion is chiefly what is now known as the district of Lohardaga and parts of Hazaribagh, and is Chota Nagpur Proper, as distinct from the rest of the Division.

“When the Mundaries first found an asylum there, it was covered with beautiful *sal* forests, but in process of time they cleared the jungle and securely established themselves as the first settlers, and under a system of village communes lived in a state of primitive contentment and simplicity, without being subject to any Raja or landlord of any description, and mostly freed from the unpleasant obligation of paying rents. Each village was presided over by a headman, or Munda, and a collection of 12 villages, called a *parha*, by a Manki, who was chosen from among the village Mundas. These Chiefs had no superior proprietary rights in the soil to the rest of the villagers; but in common with other persons in authority, to whom the administration of the village affairs was entrusted, received service lands as remuneration. These colonists, when they first came, seem to have acted on Manu’s principle: ‘the cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood or who cleared and tilled it,’ and therefore they all

claimed equal rights in the soil, but made provision for the support of the heads of the villages and the Manki. The service lands allotted to the Munda and Manki were called Mundai and Mardana, respectively. These Mankis or Parha Chiefs in course of time developed into titular Rajas. Owing to causes which I shall explain on another occasion, this system has been broken up in many parts of the province; but in the Kolhan of Singhbhum and certain five pargānas of the Lohardaga district, the village commune still obtains in a modified form.

At some period in their history the Kols came under subjection to the Nagbansi family, the Raja of Chota Nagpur, whom they agreed to serve and support. It is not quite clear how the Nagbansi family came on the scene, and it is too long a story to examine closely the different theories that have been set up to account for this. According to one tradition the progenitor of the race was sprung from the union of a snake with the daughter of a Benares Brahmin, and was selected by the people to become their Raja because of his supernatural or miraculous origin. Another theory is that he was a superior Manki who, by his intelligence, tact and prowess, had raised himself above the rest, and that when the Kols, like the children of Israel, desired a King to rule over them, the lot fell upon the chief of the Nagbansi family. Whichever of these theories may be correct, it is clear that they accepted him as their Raja, and gave him lands from every village for his maintenance. The people in each village were divided into two classes—the more privileged called ‘Bhuihars,’ breakers of the soil, held their lands rent-free and had to render honorary service, such as attendance at darbars and marriages, and like Nörval, following to the field their warlike lord. The inferior class supplied food and raiment; but this obligation was eventually commuted to a money payment, and the cultivated lands they held were termed *rajas* or rent-paying, in contradistinction to the *Bhuihari* tenures which were held rent-free. The Raja was also allowed to hold in each village a certain amount of land termed ‘*majhihas*,’ or the headman’s share, which was held for his benefit or that of the person who looked after his interest, and the persons who cultivated it received assignments of land in return for their services, called *bethkheta*, which they were allowed to hold rent-free. Thus a system grew up hardly distinguishable from the feudal system in Europe in the middle ages, and under it the raiyats were fairly well content and happy, and in this condition of Arcadian simplicity.”

At a subsequent meeting of the Council, Mr. Grimley went on to describe the changes which subsequently brought about

the state of things that led to the introduction of the Bill. "Gradually," he said, "the Raja's family came under the influence of Brahminism, and, as their power increased, they began to look down on the Kols, to treat them with degradation, to deprive them of their rights, and eventually reduced them almost to a state of serfdom. Their descent may be traced through the following stages: encroachment on their rights by the Raja, who distributed whole parganas and villages among Kunwars, Thakurs, Lallas and other members of his family as maintenance grants; their revolt and final subjugation with loss of lands and diminution of rights through the instrumentality of foreign mercenaries who were retained in the Raja's employ and received jagirs of land in return for their services; the introduction of Brahmins into the country to carry out innovations desired by the Raja, and later on of a lower order of persons, Musalman and Sikh horsedealers, shawl and silk merchants, and other adventurers, to whose influence, owing to pecuniary difficulties, the Nagbansi Chiefs became subservient, and to whom they granted farms of land for goods supplied or loans advanced. The oppression of these middlemen gradually broke down the authority of the village Chiefs in many parts of the country and ended in their disestablishment, and eventually drove the Kols into rebellion in 1831, the upshot of which was unfavourable to them and was accompanied by a great disturbance of peasant proprietary rights. Many of the Kols were compelled to leave their country, but after a time they returned to claim their lands. The jagirdars, however, objected to their re-entry, and disputes and contests were renewed and continued for many years."

A Christian Mission was established in Chota Nagpur in 1845, and the Missionaries belonging to this Mission took the Mundas in hand and their teachings fostered a spirit of independence among them. In this way their crude traditions regarding their rights in olden times, when each person was in a manner the proprietor of the soil which he cultivated revived. The result of the teachings of the Missionaries was a great accession to the ranks of the nominal Christians amongst the Mundas, and these Native Christians, encouraged by the Missionaries, in time began to present petitions to Government complaining of systematical oppression on the part of their landlords.

In these petitions the Mundas alleged that the landlords encroached on their rights by the absorption of their bhūinhari and bethketa lands into rajhas or majhihas land, and they also alleged that their landlords exacted service from the Munda tenants in excess of what they were entitled to. These petitions were considered by Government, and they led

to the passing of the "Chota Nagpur Tenures Act," II (B. C.) of 1869, which was primarily an Act passed for the purpose of ascertaining, regulating, and recording tenures in Chota Nagpur. The Act also provided for the restoration of land of which the landlords might have dispossessed their tenants within 20 years preceding the date of the passing of the Act. Certain Special Commissioners who were appointed under the Act, went to Chota Nagpur to hear the dispute between the landlords and tenants, to ascertain the titles and tenures to the various lands, and to demarcate those lands when the titles and tenures had been so ascertained. When it became known that the Special Commissioners were going to Chota Nagpur, the landlords became more friendly to the tenants, and the tenants were feasted and entertained at the expense of the landlords during the time the Special Commissioners were holding their sittings in Chota Nagpur. It appears that in consequence of the ignorance of the tenants and the liberality with which the landlords and their Agents entertained them, the tenants neglected to look after their interests before the special Commissioners in the most business-like manner. They had no professional man to represent them, and it is to be noticed that in the "Chota Nagpur Tenures Act," of 1869, it is provided "that no Mukhtar or pleader shall represent them without the consent of the Special Commissioner." It is, therefore, not surprising to find that before the Special Commissioners the landlords got the best of it, and the tenants were left to their right of appeal to the Court of the District against the decision of the Commissioners.

According to the Act any one being dissatisfied with the decision of the Special Commissioners was bound to appeal against the decision within three months. Very few of the tenants did appeal to the Commissioner of Ranchi, and the reason the tenants give for not having appealed is that they did not realise that the landlords had got the best of them until it was too late for them to do so. Gradually, however, the Mundas began to realise what had happened before the Special Commissioners, and again they began to agitate with renewed vigor, and monster petitions, signed by as many as 14,000, were sent up to Government. After many years of agitation the numerous memorials sent up to Government were considered, and the matter was laid before the Secretary of State, who, in 1882, issued orders declaring that the results of the proceedings under Act II, of 1869, should be considered as final. The Mundas, however, did not choose to remain quiet, but still went on memorialising; and, being much upset by the decision of the Secretary of State, they wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi informing him that they intended going to England to lay

their grievances before Her Majesty the Queen, and they requested that officer to issue a parwana to the Queen to supply tents and rasad for their party during their stay in England.

The agitation continued to give much anxiety to the local officials, but was kept in check until the beginning of the cold season of 1889, when the unsettled relations between the Mundas and their landlords became most serious. The military police had now to be called out to keep them in order, and various other repressive measures were resorted to. An enquiry was held into the causes of the agitation, and the conclusion arrived at by Government was that "the spirit of antagonism between the landlords and tenants was so strong and deep rooted, and so generally diffused throughout the district, that there was no prospect of arriving by themselves at any amicable settlement."

Shortly after this disturbance a large number of criminal cases came to be instituted in the Ranchi Courts against the tenants who continued to take an active part in this agitation. The result of these cases was that about forty of the tenants were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, eight or nine of these tenants dying in prison. The tenants were now convinced that the Zemindars and Ranchi Officials had combined against them to put them all in prison, and in this way put down their agitation. The Sirdars of the Mundas then came to Calcutta to engage a barrister to defend them against this alleged combination, and they selected Mr. Jacob of the Calcutta Bar. One of the first cases in which Mr. Jacob defended the Mundas was a case of theft instituted by a Zemindar against four of the ringleaders of the agitation. The Magistrate who tried the case was a native with first-class powers. The Government pleader, with several other pleaders, conducted the prosecution, whilst Mr. Jacob appeared for the accused. The excitement in Court was intense, it being well known in the district what depended on the result of this case. A large number of witnesses were called for the prosecution by the Government pleader, but under Mr. Jacob's cross examination they all broke down, and the result was that the four accused were acquitted. A few days after the acquittal of the accused, the European Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, on the application of the Government pleader, issued a rule against them to show cause why they should not be put on their trial a second time for the same offence. When the rule came on for hearing, Mr. Jacob was engaged to show cause before the Deputy Commissioner. Great excitement again prevailed in Court, and Counsel had to appeal to the Deputy Commissioner on more than one occasion to keep his Court in order. Mr. Jacob after address-

VOL. CX.]

ing the Deputy Commissioner for a short time suddenly stopped and said: "Sir, I decline to address you further to-day; as my instinct tells me you have made up your mind to try these unfortunate men again, but before I leave your Court I would ask you to remember my words:—If you do pass an order to try these accused again, you yourself will have to show cause before another tribunal with the same amount of success as I am now showing cause before you." After this, Mr. Jacob left the Court, and an order was passed to try the accused a second time.

Within a short time the European Deputy Commissioner had to show cause before the High Court, with the result that his order was set aside and these accused were not tried again. Many other cases were instituted against the Mundas, when the same Counsel was engaged; but no one was convicted, so these prosecutions at last came to an end.

A Missionary and some of the Mundas now asked Mr. Jacob to investigate the whole matter of this agitation, which had been going on for upwards of thirty years, and to advise them generally with regard to the agitation. Large sums of money had been collected during the thirty years from the tenants to enable them to carry on the agitation; and in the course of Mr. Jacob's investigation of the matter of the agitation he discovered that some Babus in Calcutta were intimately connected with the movement, and had been so connected during the last thirty years or thereabouts. These Babus were not in any way connected with the district of Chota Nagpur, and, as far as Mr. Jacob could discover had never been to Ranchi, and were apparently unknown to the Ranchi Officials. It was evident that they had acquired very great influence over the Mundas, and Mr. Jacob naturally became suspicious about their connection with the agitation. After much difficulty and opposition he succeeded in getting possession of the books and papers, &c., connected with it. He brought the books, papers, &c., to Calcutta and placed them in the hands of some solicitors, and he also brought some of the Mundas with him. After enquiries and translations had been made it was discovered that during the last thirty years more than Rs. 2,00,000 had been sent up to Calcutta to these Babus for the purpose of carrying on the agitation. Enquiries were made as to how this money had been spent, and it was evident that only very small sums of money had been paid away in connection with the agitation. Mr. Jacob, when he obtained conclusive evidence of this, put the whole matter before the Bengal Government, and he had very little difficulty in satisfying the Hon'ble C. W. Bolton, Chief Secretary, that the Calcutta Babus were the men who ought to be in prison and not the unfortunate Mundas.

The Government now agreed to find money to prosecute these Babus, and the papers, books, &c., were placed in the hands of the Legal Remembrancer. After consultations between the Legal Remembrancer and Mr. Jacob, the Legal Remembrancer was satisfied that there had been a gigantic swindle on these unfortunate people, but he advised the Bengal Government not to take up the prosecution, as it would fail on a technical point in consequence of a decision of his Lordship, Mr. Justice Hill, reported in the 24 I. L. R. (Cal.) 193, and, besides, the case would have been too expensive and complicated, as the accounts extended over so long a period. Mr. Jacob concurred in the advice of the Legal Remembrancer, and the prosecution was not instituted, but the Government took strict measures to prevent the Mundas being further fleeced by the Calcutta Babus.

Mr. Jacob considers that this fraud is indirectly the cause of the present disturbances in Chota Nagpur, as the agitation has had a most demoralising effect on the Mundas, and very many of them in consequence of it have been dispossessed of their lands, and a large number have emigrated to Assam and other places of India.

In the Hon'ble Mr. Grimley's speech made on the introduction of the "Chota Nagpur Commutation Act" 1897, that gentleman refers to the "extravagant claims and extraordinary statements made by the Mundas. He accuses them of asserting the existence of a decree which had been granted by the Home Government, but suppressed by the authorities in India, to the effect that they were the maliks of the soil, and in no way bound to pay rent through any intervenor, but direct to Government. It is, no doubt, a fact that these statements have been made in the District, and Mr. Jacob considers that the Ranchi Officials should be held responsible for them, as they have allowed the Calcutta Babus to get such power and influence over the Mundas' tenants during the last 30 years. These Babus were exceedingly clever men, and they knew how to excite the Mundas for their own gain. How were the Mundas to know whether these statements were true or not? It is certain that the Mundas believed these statements, and it is known for what purpose they were originally made, and it is surprising that the Ranchi Officials never found out how they originated. If any man with ordinary ability had years ago devoted a little time to get at the bottom of this agitation, things certainly would not be in the awful state they are in at present in Chota Nagpur.

In the year 1897 the Hon'ble Mr. Grimley introduced a Bill (the Chota Nagpur Commutation Act) in the Bengal Legislative Council with the object of putting down the Munda agitation by redressing their grievances. Mr. Jacob

was again engaged by the Munda tenants to look after their interests when the Bill came before the Council; but the suggestions submitted by the tenants' solicitors were ignored. The Act, having been passed under these circumstances, of course, gave anything but satisfaction to the tenants, and Mr. Jacob was obliged to advise them to ignore it, as it was not an act under which their grievances could be redressed. A large number of cases were subsequently filed under the Chota Nagpur Commutation Act with the avowed object of proving that it was perfectly useless and unworkable. Before these cases came on for hearing, fortunately, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Hon'ble C. W. Bolton went to Ranchi, and Mr. Jacob, with the Sirdar of the Mundas, appeared before Mr. Bolton (representing the Government), the Commissioner, the Judicial Commissioner and the Deputy-Commissioner, and placed before them the grievances of the Mundas, and they then promised that the law should be altered, and Mr. Jacob, on behalf of the tenants, agreed to hold over the cases under the Chota Nagpur Commutation Act.

We understand that a Chota Nagpur Tenancy Bill is shortly to be introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council with the object of redressing the Munda grievances.

When Mr. Jacob decided to file a large number of cases under the Act of 1897, for the purpose of convincing the authorities that it was useless for the purpose of redressing the grievances of the Mundas, he had occasion to examine a very large number of the tenants, and in this way he obtained a large amount of information which has never been questioned.

Among the matters regarding which legislation is most imperatively necessary are the determination of fair rates of rent, it being notorious that the rates for the same quantity and quality of land at present vary in different Zemindaries to an enormous extent; the making it compulsory on the part of the Zemindars to give receipts for rent to their tenants; the prohibition of enhancements except on adequate grounds and after reasonable intervals; the prohibition of compulsory services except in the case of Bhuiharee tenants under Act II of 1869; the prevention of encroachments by the Zemindars on Bhuiharee lands, or lands reclaimed by the tenants; the demarcation of Bhuiharee lands, and the abolition of the Ticcadari system.

It is to be hoped that, when the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act comes before the Council, these grievances will be duly considered.

ART. XIV.—THE CHERUMARS OF MALABAR.

A SHORT account of the Cherumars—the predial slaves of Malabar—may not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Calcutta Review*.

There are 258,402 Cherumars according to the Census of 1891, and there are as many as 39 sub-divisions among them. The most important sub-divisions are:—

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|--------|
| Kanakkan | ... | ... | 73,000 |
| Pulacheruman | ... | ... | 38,000 |
| Eralan | ... | ... | 23,000 |
| Kûdan | ... | ... | 14,000 |
| and Rolan | ... | ... | 12,000 |

Kanakkan and Pulacheruman are found in all the Southern Taluks of the District, Kûdan almost wholly in the Walluvanâd Taluk, Rolan in the Ernâd and Walluvanâd Taluks, and Eralan in the Palghât and Walluvanâd Taluks. There are no true sub-divisions among the Cherumars of North Malabar.

The word "Cherumar," or "Cherumakkal," is derived from the Malayalam word, "Cheru"—which means small, and "Mâr" or "Makkal," which signifies a collection of people. The Cherumars are short in stature and swarthy in complexion, and are considered to be the aborigines of Malabar.

The question of the slave trade and slavery attracted the early attention of the Honourable East India Company. By the Treaty of Seringapatam, Malabar was ceded by Tippu Sultan of Mysore to the English, and British rule commenced in the District in the year 1792. In that year the Company issued a proclamation making trading in slaves penal. The dealer in slaves was considered a thief. The punishment for this offence was that the slave was to be forfeited and the person offering him for sale was to be fined five times his value. The purchaser was also similarly punished. At this time much trade by sea was going on with the French Settlement at Mahé and the Dutch Settlement at Cochin, and it was the practice of bands of robbers to carry off by force numbers of these slaves, and sell them on the coast to the Agents of the vessels engaged in the trade in the above Settlements. The Proclamation above referred to had for its object chiefly the prevention of this nefarious traffic.

The subject of "agrestic slavery" attracted the attention of Mr. Warden, the Principal Collector of Malabar, in 1819, and he addressed a strong letter to the Government regarding it. The Government consequently issued orders that the practice of selling slaves for arrears of Revenue, should be immediately dis-

continued. In the year 1836 the Government ordered the remission in the Collector's accounts of Rs. 927-13-0, which was the "annual revenue" from slaves on Government lands in Malabar, and it was at the same time pleased to accede to the recommendation in favour of emancipating the slaves on the Government lands in Malabar. The Court of Directors, on hearing what had been done by it, "entirely approved" of the measures adopted, and at the same time desired the Government to consider the advisability of extending the concession to the slaves of private owners. In 1839 orders were issued "to watch the subject of the improvement of the Cherumar with that interest which it evidently merits, and leave no available means untried for effecting that object." Ultimately the Government of India passed Act V of 1843, abolishing Slavery in Malabar. Its provisions were widely published throughout the district by Mr. Conolly, the Collector, and he explained to the Cherumars that it was their interest as well as their duty to remain with their masters if treated kindly. He proclaimed that "the Government will not order a slave who is in the employ of an individual to forsake him and go to the service of another claimant, nor will the Government interfere with the slave's inclination as to where he wishes to work." And, "again, any person claiming a slave as Jenmi, Kanom, or Panayom, the right of such claim or claims will not be investigated into at any of the public offices or Courts." The final blow at slavery, however, was dealt by Section 370 and 371, &c., of the Indian Penal Code, which came into force on the 1st January 1862.

The Cherumars nevertheless have not even yet realized that the British Government have done so much to emancipate them, and a great authority on Malabar matter has said "that there is reason to think that they are still even now, with their full consent, bought and sold, and hired out, although, of course, the transaction must be kept secret for fear of the penalties of Sections 370 and 371 of the Indian Penal Code," and that "the slaves as a caste will never understand what real freedom means, until measures are adopted to give them indefeasible rights in the small orchards, occupied by them as house sites."

Let us see what is the present position of the Cherumars after a century of British rule.

Very low, indeed, is the social position of these miserable beings, when compared with that of the other low caste people, of Malabar. When a Cherumar meets a person of superior caste, he must stand at a distance of 30 feet. If he comes within this prohibited distance, his approach is said to cause pollution, which is removed only by bathing in the cold water. A

Cherumar cannot approach a Brahmin village, or temple, or tank. If he does so, purification becomes necessary. Even while using the public road, if he sees his lord and master, he has to leave the ordinary way and walk, it may be, in the mud, to avoid exciting his displeasure by accidentally polluting him. To avoid polluting the passer by, he repeats the unpleasant sound, "O, oh, O—" His position is intolerable in the Native States of Cochin and Travancore, where Brahmin influence is in the ascendant; while in the Brahmin-ridden Palghât Taluk the Cherumars cannot, even to this day, enter the bazaar.

The caste is very poorly clad. The Cherumar wears the "Mundu" cloth, usually $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, wrapped round his loins, and a very small rag round the head. The Cherumi is provided with one long piece of thick cloth, which she wraps round her waist and which does not even reach the knees. She does not cover her chest. The Cherumi invariably wears round her neck and hanging over the breasts many strings of beads and pebbles of different colours. Bangles made of pewter form her favourite arm ornament. Rings made of brass are worn on the fingers and in the ears. During the rainy season the Cherumars in the field wear a few green leaves, especially those of the plantain tree, tied round their waists; and a small cone-shaped cap, made of a plantain leaf, is worn on the head. This practice among the females has fallen into disuse in Malabar, though it is to some extent still found in the Native States. The majority of Cherumars are short, but strong and healthy, and their faces present an appearance of simplicity and innocence. There is a proverb, in Malabar, that a Cheruman never becomes grey; and, as a matter of fact, very few grey-headed men are found among them.

The Cherumars purchase their wives, and the bridegroom's sister is the chief performer in the wedding ceremony. It is she who pays the girl's price and carries off the bride. The consent of the parents is required, and is signified by an interchange of visits between the parents of the bride and bridegroom. During these visits rice water (conjee) is sipped. Before tasting the conjee they drop a fanam (local coin) into the vessel containing it, as a token of assent to the marriage. When the wedding party sets out, a large congregation of Cherumars follow, and at intervals indulge in stick play, the women singing in chorus to encourage them, "Let us see, let us see, the stick play (yadi tallu), oh! Cherumar." The men and women mingle indiscriminately in the dance during the wedding ceremony. On the return to the bridegroom's hut, the bride is expected to weep

loudly and deplore her fate. On entering the bridegroom's hut, the bride must tread on a pestle placed across the threshold.

Polyandry and polygamy are unknown among the Cherumars. Moral offences are very uncommon among them. Divorce is effected very easily; all that is required being that half of the bride's purchase money should be returned.

After giving birth to a child the females are regarded as impure for 28 days, and in the extreme North Malabar for 42 days. During this period no males may take meals from the hut; but a separate shed is generally built for the confinement. The child is brought to the master of the mother, and he gives it a name; a practice that is, of course, a relic of the days of slavery.

On the death of a person in a Cherumar's family, pollution is observed for 8 days in North Malabar, and 14 days in the South. As the Cherumars are so poor that they cannot afford to be idle for fourteen days together, they resort to an artifice. They mix cowdung and paddy and make it into a ball and place this ball in an earthen pot, the mouth of which is carefully closed with clay. The pot is then laid in a corner of the hut, and as long as it remains unopened, they are free from pollution and can mix among their fellows. On a convenient day they open the pot and are instantly seized with pollution, which continues for 40 days. Otherwise 14 days' consecutive pollution is all that is required, on the 4th or 15th day, as the case may be, rice is thrown to the ancestors and a feast follows.

In North Malabar succession is in the female line, as among the Nairs, while in the South succession is from father to son.

Malabar is essentially an agricultural District, and the Cherumar is the bulwark of agriculture. Agricultural operations begin in the months of April and May. It is the Cherumar that should plough the land, sow the seed, transplant the seedlings, regulate the flow of water in the fields, uproot the weeds, and see that the crops are not destroyed by animals or stolen. When the crops ripen he has to keep watch at night. The sentry house consists of a small oval-shaped, portable roof, constructed of palmyra and cocoanut leaves, supported by four posts, across which are tied bamboos which form the watchman's bed. Wives sometimes accompany their husbands in their watches.

When the harvest season approaches the Cherumar's hands are full. He has to cut the crops, carry them to the (Kalam) barn, separate the corn from the stalk, and winnow it. The second crop operations immediately follow, and the Cherumar has to go through all these processes again. It is in the sum-

mer season that his work is light, when he is set to prepare vegetable gardens, or some odd job is found for him by his master. The old, infirm and the children look after their master's cattle.

And what do you think these poor people get as wages for the day? Hardly 6 nalis, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ edangalis (measures) of paddy, costing half an anna, or sometimes three quarters of an anna. Taking this with him, the Cheruman enters his hut, and reserves a portion of it for the purchase of the most essential things, such as salt, chillies, toddy, tobacco and dried fish. The other portion is reserved for food. The Cherumar removes the husk and his wife cooks the meals. The little ones are fed from the meals thus prepared—the Cherumi eating only what remains after reserving some for her husband's morning meal. The Cherumars are very partial to crabs and fish, which they get in abundance from the fields during the cultivation season.

No-recess is allowed to the Cherumars, except on national holidays and celebrated temple festivals observed in honour of the goddess Bhagavati, or Kali, when they are quite free to indulge in drink. On these days their hire is given in advance. With this they get intoxicated and go to the Pooraparamba, or Temple premises, where the festival is celebrated, in batches of four, each one tying his hands to another's neck and reciting every two seconds the peculiar sound:

“Lallé Lallé Lallé ho,
Lalle Lalle Lalle ho.”

The wage (valli) of 6 nalis of paddy which they get is the customary wage paid to them for centuries. Although the prices of all articles have now risen, there is no rise in the Cherumars' pay. The Cheruman in fact spends the greater part of his wages on toddy. It is a very common sight in Malabar to see a group of Cherumars, including women and children, sitting in front of a toddy shop and sipping the toddy in cocoanut shells, the Cheruman transferring the unfinished portion of the toddy to his wife, and the latter to the children. A Cheruman, however, rarely gets intoxicated or commits crime.

On the European plantations in the Wynad they are in great request, and many Cherumars are to be seen travelling nowadays without fear in the railway carriages on their way to the plantations. A few also go to work in the gold mines of Mysore.

The home of a Cheruman is called a Châla—meaning an abject hut. All that is to be found in the hut is a few pots, a pestle and a wooden mortar. The surplus grain is stored in a

wooden pot buried in the earth, with the mouth closed by a board.

The Cheruman is a tenant-at-will. He has no right in the soil. His services are not utilised in any of the industries. The Local and Municipal Department appears to have opened one or two Primary Schools for the education of his children. Although most of them are still in their primitive state, yet it is not an uncommon thing to see Cherumar converts to Islamism taking a prominent part in the Moplah outbreaks in Malabar.

The British Government will be doing a wise act if they recognise the Cheruman's right in the soil in the Malabar Land Bill, now on the Legislative anvil. Otherwise the chances are that, in course of time, the Cherumars will swell the ranks of Moplah fanatics.

S. APPADORAI IYER.

THE QUARTER.

THE military situation in South Africa has undergone a welcome change since the date of our last Summary ; and there is strong reason to hope that the tide of war has turned strongly in our favour.

When we wrote at the end of December, the defeat sustained by General Buller at Colenso had indefinitely postponed the defeat of Ladysmith ; and, though there were indications that he was about to make a fresh advance, the fate of the beleaguered garrison was felt to be trembling in the balance. The case of Kimberley was hardly more hopeful. The disaster to Lord Methuen's force at Magersfontein, followed by its retirement upon Modder River station, had brought the campaign in that direction to a dead lock, and there seemed to be no immediate prospect of any further advance there ; while in the north-east corner of Cape Colony our forces were barely able to hold their own.

The beginning of the New Year brought no improvement in the state of affairs. Towards the end of January General Buller again crossed the Tugela River in force, and expectations were raised by his somewhat magniloquent announcement that there was to be no turning back. On the 23rd, General Warren occupied Spionkop, which was declared to be the key of the enemy's position. By evening of the following day, however, the hill was found to be too much exposed to the enemy's artillery fire to be tenable without disproportionate sacrifice, and, after the force had suffered heavy loss, it was abandoned and the whole force withdrawn to the south side of the river.

This fresh reverse was succeeded by some days of inactivity. But on the 5th February a third attempt was made to penetrate the investing lines, and Vaal Krantz, a spur of the Brakfontein Range, was carried at the point of the bayonet. The hill was held for two days under a heavy fire from Spionkop and Doornkloof ; but on the 7th General Buller came to the conclusion that no advance in that direction was possible without needless sacrifice of life, and, for the third time a general retirement to the southern bank was ordered.

In the meanwhile there had been no distinct improvement in our position either on the Modder River or in the Colesberg and Stormberg districts. In the former the Highland Brigade, under General Hector Macdonald, seized a position at Koodoosberg, commanding the drift on the Riet river there, the

ostensible object of the movement being to intercept the enemy, who were threatening the railway line in the direction of Belmont. The force, however, was suddenly recalled after the position had been held for several days. In the Colesberg district General French continued to display considerable activity, keeping the enemy fully occupied; Coleskop hill and several other important positions in the neighbourhood were captured, and the general expectation was that a serious attempt was about to be made to recover Colesberg and seize Norvals Pont, preparatory to an advance in that direction, by General Roberts in force.

Suddenly, however, General French and his cavalry were withdrawn from the neighbourhood, and all our advanced positions abandoned. The enemy, who appear to have been completely deceived, taking advantage of the weakness thus displayed, attacked Rensburg with a strong force, and the place was abandoned after severe fighting.

In the meantime, on the 11th February, General Hannay, with a brigade of mounted infantry, marched from the Orange River to Ramah; and, on the following day, General French, with the Cavalry division, seized Dekil's drift on the Riet river, and, the main body of Lord Roberts' force, comprising the 6th and 7th Divisions, with the Highland Brigade, crossed and encamped on the East bank.

This done, the Cavalry under General French made a further advance; forced the passage of the Modder River at Klip Drift, twenty-five miles distant, and occupied the hills to the North, capturing three of the enemy's laagers, and the 6th Division were immediately afterwards pushed forward in support.

On the 16th it was announced that General French had reached Kimberley on the previous day, dispersing the enemy from Alexandersfontein to Olifantsfontein; while, on the same day, Lord Roberts occupied Jacobsdal, the opposition encountered in these several operations being insignificant and the loss on our side slight.

The fact was that Cronje, on learning of Lord Roberts' advance, promptly evacuated his entrenched position, at Magersfontien and directed all his efforts to making good his retreat on Bloenfontein. How he contrived to evade our forces and cross the Modder is a tale which still remains to be told. Apparently it was not till the 16th February that it was ascertained that he had escaped, and General Kenny Kelly's brigade was at once despatched in pursuit. On the 17th it was announced that he had captured seventy-eight of the enemy's wagons and was shelling their laager. Subsequently he was re-inforced by the Highland Brigade, the Boers

all this time keeping up a running fight and endeavouring to gain time by occupying successive kopjes on either side of the route.

At last General Cronje found himself fairly cornered in a bend of the Modder River and was compelled to resort to the desperate expedient of entrenching himself in its bed, where he was ultimately surrounded. An attempt made to carry his laager by assault failed; and it was not till he had been subjected to a terrific cannonade for upwards of a week that he surrendered unconditionally; with his entire force, of some 4,000, on the 27th February, the anniversary of Majuba Hill.

One result of Lord Roberts' advance was the withdrawal of a large portion of the Orange Free State troops from the country south of Ladysmith. Taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded him, General Buller, on the 17th February, attacked the enemy's positions on the south side of the Tugela, where they had established themselves in force to the east of Colenso, and occupied and entrenched Hussar Hill. By the 19th he had driven the enemy from all their positions to the south of the river, including Hlangwane Hill, and General Hart was enabled to occupy Colenso, which had thus been rendered untenable. On the 21st the 5th Division crossed the Tugela, driving back the enemy's rearguard. By nightfall of the 23rd our left wing had arrived within a few yards of the enemy's first trenches at Groobler's Kloof. On the following day General Hart's brigade attacked Pieter's Hill, but was repulsed, the Inniskillings suffering heavily. The hill was, however, carried by General Barton's brigade on the 27th, and at the same time the 4th and 7th brigades under Sir Charles Warren carried the main Boer position, the enemy scattering in all directions.

No clear account of the subsequent operations has yet reached us; but apparently little or no further opposition was encountered. On the night of the 28th Lord Dundonald, finding the ridge between him and Ladysmith unoccupied, rode into the town with a small force of cavalry and mounted infantry; and in a despatch dated 2nd March, General Buller reported the whole of the Ladysmith district clear of the enemy, except the top of Van Reenen's Pass.

After the surrender of General Cronje, Lord Roberts advanced to Osfontein; and a day or two later it was reported that General Joubert was assembling a large force, including the bulk of the troops from Ladysmith, at Abraham's Kraal, some thirty-five miles from Bloenfontein, to oppose him. This report, however, appears to have been untrue, the latest news being that, on the 7th instant, Lord Roberts attacked and completely routed the enemy, who occupied a position four miles

to the North and eleven miles to the South of the Modder River, and that the enemy were in full retreat northward and eastward, closely pursued by our cavalry, horse artillery and mounted infantry.

In the meantime, the Boers have evacuated or been driven out of, most of their positions in the north-east of Cape Colony, including Colesberg, Stormberg and Dordrecht, which was taken in gallant style by the Colonials under Colonel Brabant.

At the re-opening of Parliament, on the 30th January, Her Majesty, in the speech from the Throne, said with reference to the war: "In resisting an invasion of the Colonies, my people have responded to my appeal with devotion and enthusiasm, and the heroism of my soldiers, sailors, and marines has been equal to the noblest British traditions. I am deeply grieved at the sacrifice of so many valuable lives, and have witnessed with pride and the heartiest gratification the patriotic eagerness and spontaneous loyalty wherewith my subjects, in all parts of my dominions, have come forward to share in the common imperial defence. I am confident that I shall not look to them vainly when I exhort them to sustain and renew their exertions, until the struggle for maintenance of the Empire and the assertion of supremacy in South Africa, is victoriously concluded."

After referring to the federation of Australia as advantageous to the Empire, Her Majesty continued "The brilliant courage and soldier-like qualities of the Colonial forces have earned high admiration, and I am much gratified at the proofs of loyalty to myself, and devotion to the Empire, afforded by the numerous offers from Indian Native Rulers to place troops and resources at my disposal."

In conclusion, Her Majesty added "that the operations in South Africa demanded a large increase in military expenditure. The experience of a great war necessarily afforded lessons of the greatest importance to the military administration. Her Majesty was convinced that Parliament would shrink from no outlay to place the defensive preparations on a level with the responsibilities of so great an Empire, nor relax their solicitude for the efficiency of the Navy and Coast defences, when several other nations were perfecting their naval preparations."

In the debate which followed, the Opposition leaders, while criticising the unpreparedness of the Government, admitted the necessity of prosecuting the war for the vindication of the integrity of Her Majesty's dominions. An amendment moved by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, regretting the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment, displayed by the Government in South African affairs since 1895 and in the

preparations for the war, was rejected by 352 votes to 139, and a further amendment by Mr. Redmond, to end the war and recognise the independence of the two South African Republics, by 229 votes to 39.

Supplementary Army estimates subsequently introduced, amounting to 13 millions, and providing for 120,000 more men, were voted by 239 to 34. In the House of Lords, Lord Rosebery condemned the proposals as inadequate, while Lord Lansdowne maintained that the only alternative was some form of conscription.

In the Budget, introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 5th instant, the war expenditure of the year was put down at sixty millions. To cover this, the Government proposed to increase the income-tax by four pence in the pound, the duty on beer by one shilling per barrel, that on spirits by six pence a gallon, that on tobacco by four pence a pound, that on cigars by six pence, and that on tea by two pence a pound; besides extending the stamp duties on stock transactions, and suspending the sinking fund and certain annuities, the remaining £35,000,000 being raised by issue of bonds or stock terminable in ten years. The Resolutions relating to the new duties and the loan were passed by overwhelming majorities.

In the House of Lords on the 12th February, Lord Lansdowne stated that it was proposed to add to the army fifteen battalions, forty-three batteries, and seven cavalry regiments, the result of the changes contemplated being to add 30,000 men to the Regular Army and 50,000 to the auxiliary forces.

The public mind has been considerably disturbed by the announcement that the Russian Bank, which means practically the Russian Government, has advanced the Persian Government 22½ million roubles wherewith to discharge all its foreign obligations, on condition of its undertaking to incur no fresh foreign loan, and by the despatch of Russian re-inforcements to Askabad and Kushk on the Herat frontier. With reference to the latter movement, however, the Russian Government is understood to have disavowed all aggressive intentions.

There have been persistent rumours during the Quarter of the conclusion of a secret treaty between Germany and Great Britain regarding a partition of the Portuguese territories in East Africa between the two countries in certain eventualities.

A convention has been entered into between Great Britain and the United States, by which Great Britain withdraws all objections to the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal, the United States, on its part, undertaking to maintain the

neutrality of the Canal and keep it open to the commerce of the world.

Great Britain is also reported to have withdrawn her opposition to the extension of the French Settlement in Shanghai.

The Emperor of Russia has issued a Rescript to Count Muravieff in the course of which he insists on the acquisition of an ice-free port in the Far East as absolutely necessary in the interests of Russia as a great Maritime Power. The Rescript is otherwise highly pacific in its tone.

A fresh intrigue in Pekin has resulted in the recognition by the Emperor of Prince Pu Chun, a youth of 14 years of age, as heir to the throne; and it has since been reported that the Emperor has been dethroned, though this is denied. At the same time an Imperial edict has been issued ordering a return to the learning of Confucius and the rejection of modern depraved ideas.

An Indian Famine Relief Fund has been opened in London and other places in the United Kingdom, to which large sums have already been subscribed.

As far as India is concerned the period under review has been politically uneventful. In other respects the record is one of deepening gloom. The almost complete failure of the winter rains has intensified the distress that prevails in Central and Western India and parts of Madras and the Punjab, and the numbers in receipt of relief have risen to more than four millions and a half and may be expected to increase still further as the dry season advances.

The plague shows no signs of abating. In Bombay the mortality is almost as high as it has been at any period since the commencement of the visitation; in Mysore and Sind there has been a serious recrudescence of the disease, which is also spreading steadily in Behar, and in Calcutta, where all attempt to control it seems to have been abandoned by the authorities as hopeless, it has at last assumed an epidemic form, and the number of cases already exceeds a hundred a day.

Alarmed by the rapid increase in the numbers on the Famine Relief Works, the Government of India recently issued a Circular to the Local Governments urging the necessity of greater stringency in the application of the tests prescribed by the Code. Certain expressions in this document were regarded as indicating a disposition on the part of the Government to question the practicability, on financial grounds, of adhering to the main principles of its Famine policy, but a statement subsequently made by the Viceroy in Council on the subject constitutes a complete assurance that this is not the case.

"Some attention," said His Excellency, "has been called

to the fact that the Government of India has recently issued a circular letter to the Local Governments calling their attention to the exceptional circumstances of the present situation, and suggesting a greater stringency in the tests to be henceforward applied. I have seen this circular described in the native press, of which I may say in passing that I am a not inattentive student, as disastrous and inhuman. Such a criticism can surely not be based upon any knowledge of the facts. I accept on behalf of the Government of India the full responsibility for that letter. It expressed the deliberate opinions of my colleagues and myself. I am the last person in the world to prefer the mere interests of economy to those of humanity, and I acknowledge to the utmost the obligation of Government to spend its last rupee in the saving of human life and in the mitigation of extreme human suffering. But the Government of India must necessarily take a broader outlook, while it manifestly profits by a wider knowledge, than its critics. We are acquainted by the reports that we receive from our officers with what is passing, not in one district alone, but in all parts of the country. We are the custodians of the interests of the tax-payers of India. We have to look to what may happen in future famines—and recent experience does not encourage us to regard famine as the rare and isolated phenomenon which it has hitherto been held to be. Above all, it is our duty jealously to watch and to conserve the character of the people. In my judgment any Government which imperilled the financial position of India in the interests of a prodigal philanthropy would be open to serious criticism. But any Government, which, by indiscriminate alms-giving, weakened the fibre and demoralised the self-reliance of the population, would be guilty of a public crime."

After adverting to facts which seemed to show that the old reluctance of the people to have recourse to relief works was breaking down, His Excellency went on to say: "From all these considerations it must, I think, be obvious not merely that the present famine is abnormal in character, but that the need for close supervision and control on the part of Government is exceptionally great. I am not one of those who regard Famine Relief as an exact science. Reports of Commissions and Codes have a great value, in so far as they are the results of previous experience. But they are not immaculate. Neither are they laws of the Medes and Persians. Poor Law Administration in every country in the world, in England itself, is still in an experimental stage: no country and no Government has hit the ideal mean between philanthropy and justice, between necessary relief and pauperisation. I contend that in India we are still engaged in the same

process of working out our own salvation, and that each fresh crisis must be met by its own rules. Let those rules be based upon previous experience, and let them not err—if they do err at all—on the side of severity. But never let them ignore the obligatory relations upon which society is based—the duty of the landlord to the tenant, of the tenant to the labourer, of the community to its items, of the father to his family, of a man to himself. If for all these relations, at any period of emergency you hastily substitute the duty of the State to its subjects, you extinguish all sense of personal responsibility, and you destroy the economic basis of agrarian society.”

Of the measures that have occupied the attention of the Viceroy's Council during the winter session, the two most important—the Assam Emigration and Mines Regulation Bills—have been held over for future consideration, and the former will not be taken up again till next cold weather. A proviso has been added by the Select Committee to Section 2 of the Press Messages Bill, to the effect that nothing in the section shall be deemed to prohibit the publication of any protected message at any place after the expiration of 18 hours from the time of its having been first published at or within a distance of 10 miles from that place.” Owing, however, to the almost unanimous opposition of the Anglo-Indian Press to this proposal, the consideration of the Bill has been postponed to the 16th instant.

An important statement has been made in the Council by Mr. Dawkins regarding the proposed amalgamation of the Presidency Banks, which, together with an increase of their capital, he represented to be necessary conditions of the relaxation of the existing rules prohibiting borrowing in London and the financing of railways and Municipal and District Board works. Mr. Dawkins further stated that, given these conditions, the Government would be willing to transfer the management of the Note issue to the Bank, the terms of the transfer being that Government should retain the profit on the present issue, but should indemnify the Bank for the cost of management.

A munificent offer made by Lieutenant-Colonel Lumsden, of the Assam Valley Light Horse, to raise a body of Mounted Volunteers in India for service in South Africa, and to contribute Rs. 50,000 towards the cost of its equipment, having been accepted by the Government, the call for recruits has been eagerly responded to from all parts of India, Behar and the Assam Valley, in particular, furnishing strong contingents. The corps, numbering 245, exclusive of farrier and transport establishment, sailed from Calcutta in two detachments at the latter end of February and the beginning of March, a large

sum of money having been subscribed by the public towards the expenses of the corps, and many valuable gifts made by them to it.

A serious outrage has been committed on the Northern Shan Frontier by the Was, a body of whom, acting probably under an apprehension that their rights were in jeopardy, have attacked and killed Surgeon Major Kiddle and Mr. A. B. Sutherland, attached to the British Chinese Boundary Commission. A body of troops has since been moved up to protect the Mission, and the demarcation of the frontier is going on.

His Excellency the Viceroy left Goalundo on the 3rd instant on a tour in Assam and arrived at Dibrugarh on the 6th idem. His Excellency is expected to return to Calcutta early next week.

The obituary for the Quarter includes the names of the Duke of Westminster; the Duke of Teck; Lord Ludlow; Sir W. W. Hunter, K. C. S. I., O. I. E.; Sir James Paget; Mr. John Ruskin; Mr. R. D. Blackmore; Mr. Grant Allan; Sir Gregory Charles Paul, K. C. I. E.; Revd. Arthur Robbins; Major General W. K. Fooks; General H. Hopkinson; Surgeon General John Ogilvy; Major General Sir F. R. Pollock, K. C. S. I.; Major General Hutchinson, C. B., C. S. I.; Mr. Henry Coxwell; Professor D. E. Hughes; Mr. C. P. Carmichael, C. S. I.; Major General G. G. Cunliffe; Mr. H. D. Traill and Sir W. Geddes.

March 10th, 1900.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,

In your issue of January last, an article was published on *The Land Laws of Bengal*. The writer, who adopted the signature of *Ich Dien*, in his treatment of the subject, passed some remarks on Canal Irrigation in general, of which he appeared to have formed a somewhat unfavourable opinion. "It is said," he remarked, "that irrigation does temporary and precarious benefit, at the cost of the permanent sterilising of the soil." And he then adds, "I shall close this subject with the following gloomy picture of the effect of irrigation in Upper India." On this, is introduced a passage from a report written by me, a short time before the breaking out of the Mutiny of 1857.

But a misapprehension has taken place with regard to this quotation, which I ask your courtesy to allow me to rectify. I was not describing the effects of irrigation in general, but only certain results I had witnessed, arising from the use of the Jumna Canal, in parts of the district of Kurnal. My knowledge and experience were not sufficient to have rendered my opinion, on the large question of irrigation, of any value. It was not asked and was not offered. I only put down what I had either seen myself, or had heard from the farmers, on the spot.

The Jumna Canal in Kurnal, and its branches in the neighbouring districts, formed an old undertaking of the Moghul Government. After long years' disuse they were re-opened by the British. The arrival of the water was welcomed by the cultivators, and for a time great prosperity prevailed. Unwonted gains created, it is said, extravagance: there was extant a rumour of silver necklets provided for the bullocks. And when the Settlement commenced, Mr. George Edmondstone found sugar-cane and other valuable crops growing on land which had previously produced only coarse grains, and he assessed at high rates.

In the course of time, however, defects disclosed themselves, which were due to faulty engineering on the part of our predecessors. Under certain circumstances, the water percolated from the canal under neighbouring lands, and, when drawn up by the sun, brought with it noxious salts, exhibiting

their presence by a white efflorescence called *reh*. Where this process occurred, vegetation was entirely destroyed; and the unhealthy marsh produced fever;—a severe type of spleen disease,—and in some cases, weak intellect and impotence, amongst those who had to live there.

If I described the unhappy scene witnessed, with some warmth, I was moved to do so by sympathy with the industrious, patient and enduring race who form the body of the cultivators in those parts. Their cause was espoused by some of the local officers,—especially by one,—but the determination of the peasantry to pay their dues to the Government, if possible,—led the Revenue Board, perhaps excusably, to suppose that the time had not arrived for interference and inquiry. At length, one morning, a large village gave up the struggle, and emigrated into the native State of Jheend. Not a soul was left amidst the silent, dismantled houses (for the wood-work was carried away), except the watchman, who remained to complain that his wages had not been paid.

Then an alarm naturally arose, and it was decided by the authorities that some one should be sent to make a special investigation into the state of affairs. That task was entrusted to me, and hence the report quoted, but unintentionally misapplied, by your contributor.

Faithfully yours,

J. W. SHERER.

5, Russell Street, Bath.

February 8th, 1900.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India. By JAMES DOUGLAS, J. P., *Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London.*

DESPITE a certain meagreness of detail and a somewhat disjointed system of arrangement, Mr. Douglas has succeeded in his object of collecting a mass of interesting facts which cannot fail to prove useful as well as entertaining to students of the history of our early days in India. We are not sure that the retrospect afforded by the book will tend to make the present generation more contented with the conditions of their exile. It is probable that many comparisons will be made between the past and the present which will not all be in favour of the latter. If we have now the increased facilities for going Home afforded by the Suez Canal; the nearer touch with England gained by the electric telegraph; the improved sanitary conditions and the hundred and one other benefits conferred by science, we have, on the other hand, the unrest and the increased competition incident to these improvements to put in the scale against them. We have undoubtedly lost much that compensated in the old days for the discomforts of residence in India. The pagoda tree has withered almost to the ground, and the hard worked exile has to accept a 1s. 4d. rupee, instead of the 2s. 8d. one which rewarded his labours in 1816. Freights in those days were considered low at £8 and £6 per ton, and "what" asks the writer "would have been thought of 15s. per ton?" Among other things the Anglo-Indian seems to have lost the serene equanimity which then allowed him to bear a considerable fall in the rupee without so much as a grumble.

The English Government were in great want of the sinews of war in India, for I think I am within the bounds of truth when I say that the army of the Dekhan, with its subsidiary forces, numbered 100,000 men. Those men required to be clothed and fed, and the money somehow had to be found. Given time, the resources of England are always equal to any emergency, and bullion came out, and exchange dropped and dropped until, in 1824, it reached 1s. 8d. In 1816 it had been 2s. 8d. When the rupee reached its lowest depth of degradation I cannot find a single groan. There were certainly no petitions, no meetings, no letters in the newspapers or journals. The situation was accepted, and men made the best of it.

In the matter of amusements Bombay, in the first years of the century, appears to have been very little behind Calcutta in the present year of grace, either as to amateur theatricals, sumptuous dinners, or balls.

And they had their amusements. The Bombay Theatre, on the margin of the Green (not far from the *Times of India* office, 1892), dated from 1770 and was the oldest in India, so we are told. The players were amateurs, and the purpose was charity as well as amusement. Gaiety culminated in 1804, with Arthur Wellesley after his splendid victories. General Bellasis gave a dinner to him in the Theatre, and Colonel Lechmere and the officers of the Fencibles a magnificent fête in the same place. Dinner at seven. Illuminations all over the Green, far and wide. The Governor gave a grand ball at Parell when that sheet of water, to which succeeding generations of wearied dancers have repaired to recruit their exhausted energies, became a fairy scene of gorgeous fireworks, which blazed away, far into the night and early morning, over the faces of fair women and brave men.

Here is an amusement that has not been seen in our day in Bombay. The date is January, 1800, when a great number of gentlemen and some ladies attended on a Saturday at the Riding School, to witness the baiting of a horse, a wild boar, and some buffaloes by a leopard. The first object of attack was a dummy man, which leopardus tore to pieces in a twinkling. He then assayed the wild hog, for which he soon showed a Muslim aversion. and "backed," with his tail between his legs, which did not suit the spectators, who goaded him into fury by squibs and crackers until the brute, becoming exasperated by its tormentors, suddenly, by one tremendous leap, alighted on the edge of a high bamboo palisade which divided the spectators from the arena. You may well believe that, as he hung in mid-air, there was a great consternation. The account says that "each waived all ceremony in the order of his going, to establish his own right of precedence." The riding-master, who happened to have loaded pistol in his hand, was equal to the occasion, and shot the leopard dead on his perch, his body falling with a thud into the enclosure, while the crowd flew helter-skelter.

We have certainly, however, made great strides in religious and philanthropic enterprise since Dr. Cobbe, in 1715, preached the sermon which resulted in the building of the first Church in Bombay.

On June 19th, 1715, Cobbe, preached a sermon in furtherance of building a Church in Bombay, which fired the zeal of the community. After the sermon he waited on Governor Aislabie, and here is Dr. Cobbe's own account of the interview:—

"Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning."

"Please, your Honour, there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence."

"Well, then, if we must have a Church, we will have a Church. Do you see and get a book made, and see what everyone will contribute towards it, and I will give first."

The Governor subscribed Rs. 1,000, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was afterwards filled in with Rs. 10,000. The Church was erected and opened in 1718. Very little change was made in its internal economy, and the pews and seats remained unaltered for a hundred years. In 1818, exactly a century after the Church had been opened for the first time, the pews were altered, and new chairs set down. Being entirely re-seated, the interior presented quite a different aspect, was much more comfortable for the worshippers, and more seemly for a house of God, inasmuch as some invidious distinctions between the well-to-do and common people had been abolished. On Christmas day, 1818, it was re-opened with considerable *éclat*, when Archdeacon Barnes preached a splendid sermon. It was announced that Divine service would be held at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. every Sunday.

The most important changes that have taken place in Bombay during the last fifty years are briefly summed up by the writer, who says:—

Fifty years ago Bombay was a very different place from what we see to-day. With some exceptions it was a city unpaved, unlighted, undrained,

unventilated. There was no gas, no tramways, no hotels worthy of the name. Hospitality then did duty for hotels. No water from Vehar—only wells. We had only monthly mails, the Tanna Railway was still unopened. A steamer was a rare sight, and Bombay Harbour from Malabar Hill appeared a forest of masts. Fifty years ago Government had just swooped down on the Bunder gang and sentenced them to transportation. They had worked at their nefarious business for twenty-five years, at a profit of £60,000 annually. Malabar Hill had only half a dozen bungalows on it, and when the "Wilderness" was offered for sale some of the best buyers were frightened away from purchasing it, so much was it in the region of nocturnal robber kolis and dacoits. Fifty years ago old Napier, with his hooked nose, was making Sind. Manockjee Cursetjee had returned from Europe. Our Governor, Sir George Arthur, had excused himself from attending parties of the natives. Dr. Wilson was at home with Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee, who is still doing good work among us. David McCulloch was chairman of the Commercial Bank, and William Graham, the philanthropist, was here, his long hair still unwhitened by the snows of years. George Buist edited the *Bombay Times*. Fifty years ago—let us be particular—so late as from 1826 to 1830, the shroffs of this Presidency had their caravans looted and sixty-four persons escorting them killed by Thugs. With returning commercial prosperity, the old Bank of Bombay and the old Oriental Bank were pluming their wings for that flight of credit which suffered no diminution for twenty years, and which in its day was second only to that of the East India Company. It was said that John Stuart, manager of the old Bank of Bombay, discounted bills to the value of £30,000,000 sterling with a loss of only £2,000. Fifty years ago Rudyard Kipling* was as yet unborn, but Farrar (Dean of Canterbury) had left the parent nest in the Marine Lines, as Monier Williams had done some years before, the birthplace of these three men, each eminent in his own vocation, having been, we believe, in this city. We had Russian scares fifty years ago. I read in a newspaper of July 9th, 1828: "The Russians are not come yet. It will be time enough to board up your ghee jars and bury your gold mohurs when the croak of the frog ceases to charm away the night and the neighing of the Cossack's horse is heard at your door." And fifty years ago it was gravely propounded that the mangroves round our shores ought to be cultivated, as their existence constituted a standing menace to the boats of a hostile force in any attempt to effect a landing. Fifty years ago Matheran was an untrodden wilderness except by the denizens of the jungle. Colaba, Sion, Bankote and Mahableshwar were the only seaside or hill stations available. Fifty years ago there were many white jackets at dinner parties, and the hubble-bubble was not absent after dinner.

Whether the net result of all these changes is gain or loss, must be left to individual judgment and opinion, but to many of us it will doubtless appear that much has gone which we could ill-afford to lose.

The advantages of living in those old times were that you were not worried by competition, and the telegraphic system, which has made all the world your next door neighbours. Men had more time to think. The factors were fewer in estimating probabilities, and speculation, if it dared a longer period, was not so much disturbed by unforeseen contingencies. There were no Council Bills. Men stayed longer in the country, and there was more time to create fast friendships.

The time men lived in the country enabled them to learn the languages better, become familiar with the ways of the natives, not being blind to the excellences of the native character. Sir James Rivett Carnac, the Governor at durbars, and John Fleming at meetings, delivered all their speeches in Hindustani, while Dr. Wilson coned over the Old Testament with David Sassoon in the same language, eked out by snatches of Arabic and Hebrew. All this created a fountain of sociability and well-doing towards Europeans. Witness the delicate and munificent instances of benefactions recorded by Mountstuart Elphinstone in his *History of India*; and in later days we find

Cowasjee Jehangier Readymoney dividing Rs. 15,000 among the assistants of a European house, while Premchund Roychund gives a donation of Rs. 50,000 to an Italian Opera Company. We must not forget the late benefaction of Sir William Mackinnon, £10,000 to the employes of Messrs. Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co., in Bombay and Calcutta, which surpasses, I imagine, any similar bequest ever made in the East.

It would not be fair to Mr. Douglas to quote further from his book, but we would recommend all who are interested in Bombay to read it for themselves. A chapter dealing with the Black Death which ravaged Bombay in 1348 and which was presumably the same disease which we have among us to-day, is especially interesting at the present moment.

Donna Teresa. BY FRANCIS MARY PEARD. Macmillan & Co., London.

TO readers who like a wholesome, well-told story which makes no special call on their imagination or their credulity, *Donna Teresa* may be recommended as pleasant and harmless reading. The heroine, a well meaning, impulsive young widow, who likes occasionally to play Providence to others, is an attractive, if a not very perspicacious person, and the reader is not surprised when her well-laid schemes sometimes "gang agley." Her sister appears to us a trifle overdrawn as to ignorance and inanity, and comes too near being a downright simpleton to be an interesting personality, and her tragic end seems ill-suited and unnecessary to so insignificant a character. Most readers will be so indifferent to her fate that what would otherwise be a strong situation is thrown away on her. Miss Peard's style is evenly good throughout, without being in any way distinguished; and the Italian setting of her tale gives her abundant opportunity for descriptive-writing of a picturesque kind of which she avails herself with success.

The Upanishads: Chhândogya, Part Second. Fourth Volume.

Translated by GANGA'NATH JHA, M. A., F. T. S. Published by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B.A., B.L., M. R. A. S. Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers, Esplanade, 1899.

THIS is much the most important of the translations of the Upanishads so far published by Mr. Seshacharri. The portion of the Chhândogya dealt with is that from the fifth to the eighth Adhyaya inclusive. The principal subject of Adhyaya VI is the all-important one of the essential identity of the Self. "It has been declared above," says Sri Sankara in his Commentary on the opening of the 1st Section, "that all this is *Brahman*, rising in It, dissolving in It, and living in It; and now it has to be shown how the universe is born from It

how it is dissolved into It, and how it lives in It. And again, it has also been declared that when a single knowing (conscious) person has eaten, the whole world is satisfied; and this could be possible, if the self in all creatures were one, and not, if this self were diverse; and this sixth Adhyaya is begun with a view to show that the self in all is one."

The second section is occupied with a refutation of the Nihilist doctrine that Being was preceded by non-Being.

The Seventh Adhyaya deals with the modifications of the Self.

The following extract from Section XII of the Eighth Adhyaya, with Commentary, will give a good idea of Sri Sankara's method and of the way in which the translator has done his work:

'*Indra!* mortal is the body, held by Death. It is the abode of that Immortal incorporeal Self. The corporeal one is held by pleasure and pain. For the corporeal Being, there is no freedom from pleasure and pain. But the Being without the body is not touched by pleasure and pain.' (1)

Com.—'This body is mortal'—i.e., capable of death. You think that the Self, that I have described as located in the eye, and as being of the nature of serene bliss, is beyond destruction. Just listen to the reason for this: This body, that you see, is mortal—perishable. It is always held by Death. If it were said that it dies only at certain times, then the fear of Death would not be so great, as it is when it is said that the body is always held by Death,—which particular way of saying serves to remove all attachment to the body. Hence, it is said: '*It is held by Death.*' Being, free from all attachment to the body, the ego returns to its own pristine purity. The 'body' spoken of here is meant to be taken together with the organs of sense, the mind &c., &c.; and this body belongs to the Immortal serene Being which is comprehended as located in three places; and which itself is free from death and other such like properties as pertain to the body, the mind and sense-organs. Though the mere mention of 'Immortal' implies the *absence of body*, yet the separate mention of 'incorporeal' is meant to show 'that it is not partite and corporeal' like Air. The body is the substratum of the experiences of the Self; or it may be said to be the substratum of the Self itself, the Thinker, in the order of—Fire, Water, Food, &c. And since the body occupied by the Self is always held by Death, and affected by pleasure and pain, as being brought about by means of virtue and vice,—therefore the corporeal Self, occupying it, comes to be affected by these. The fact of the Self being corporeal consists in its mistaken identification of itself with the body; hence 'the corporeal Self is held by pleasure and pain.' It is a well-known fact that for the Being that is corporeal, there is no freedom from—or removal of—the series of pleasures and pains, as brought about by connection with, or separation

from the external objects of sense,—the Self, all the time, thinking of such connection and separation to belong to itself. When, however, the Being is free from the body,—i.e., when its false notion of identity with the body is set aside by a proper recognition of its own true incorporeal character,—pleasure and pain do not touch it. The root 'to touch' is to be taken with each member of the compound; 'Pleasure does not touch' and 'Pain does not touch' being the two sentences contained in the one; just as in the passage 'one should not converse with the *mlechchha*, impure and unrighteous people.' Pleasure and pain are the effects of virtue and vice; freedom from body is the real nature of the Self; and as such, there being no possibility of virtue and vice, very much less is the chance for any effects of these; hence, 'Pleasure and pain do not touch it.' 'If ever pleasure do not touch the incorporeal Self, then it comes to what *Indra* had said—that 'in that case, it reaches utter annihilation.' This does not affect the case; because what is denied here is the existence of such Pleasure and Pain as are brought about by virtue and vice.—'Pleasure and Pain do not touch the incorporeal Self.' Because the word 'touch' is always found to be used in connection with such things as are liable to appear and disappear; e.g., the cold touch, the warm touch, &c.; while the warmth and brightness which are inherent in the Fire (and as such appearing and disappearing), are not referred to by 'touch.' Similarly, the Pleasure, in the shape of Bliss, which naturally belongs to the Self,—like the warmth and brightness of the Sun—is not what is denied here (by the denial of touch); because, of such *Srutis* as 'Brahman is Consciousness, Bliss, Bliss is Brahman' and so forth; and in this work too it has been said 'the highest is Bliss.' The highest and pleasure being one and the same,—there being no difference between the two inasmuch as both are equally unrecognisable or cognisable only in their natural forms,—this cannot be what is desired by *Indra*; because, he has already said that 'then It does not know itself, as *this is I*, nor does It know these beings'; it has reached utter annihilation, and I see no good in this; 'which shows that that which *Indra* wishes to know is that which knows itself and also the living beings, which is conscious of no pain, and which obtains all worlds and all desires by means of knowledge.' It is true that such is what is desired by *Indra*, who thinks that 'these beings are separate from myself, all worlds and desires are other than myself. I being the master of all these; but this is not what will do him any good; what is good for *Indra* is to be explained by *Prajapati*. What *Prajapati* means to explain is that what is good for *Indra* is the realization of the Self, as being incorporeal, like the *Akasa*, and which is the Self of all worlds and all desires, and not as something other than his own Self, like the obtaining of the kingdom by the king. Such being the case, when the Self is one, what could know what as '*this is I*' or that 'these are the living beings?' But in accordance with this theory all the *Sruti* passages,—which declare the equipment of the ego with 'women, conveyances,

and the fact of his being 'desirous of the world of the Fathers, &c.' and lastly the fact of its being 'one' &c., &c. — would not be explicable. Not so; because there is no contradiction in the fact of the Self of all obtaining all the results; just like the fact of all such substances as the jar, &c., belonging to clay. 'If it be urged that 'if it be the Self of all, then it would be connected with pain also.'—we deny this; because, pain too being the Self, there is no contradiction in this. As a matter of fact, however, all pain is imposed upon the Self by the assumption of Ignorance, just as the imposition of the character of the serpent on the rope. And inasmuch as the Ignorance, the cause of pain, is destroyed by means of the cognition of the true nature of Self, there is not the slightest chance of any pain affecting the Self. On the other hand, such desires as are due to the volition of pure *salva*, and are resident in the mind alone, with regard to all objects, have a connection with the body of the Lord. And the theory of the Vedānta is that it is the Supreme One, which becomes the enjoyer, through the limitations; and consequently, all usages based upon Ignorance refer to the Supreme Self alone, and to nothing else. 'By speaking of the person that is seen in the eye' what was meant by *Prajāpati* was the shadow-Self, and it was something else that was spoken of in connection with dreams and deep sleep; and none of these three mean the Supreme Self as characterised by freedom from evil, &c.,—such is the view held by some people who explain, in the following manner, the ~~fact of the destruction~~ of the Self in the shapes of the shadow, &c.: 'these are explained in the beginning, with a view to avoid the confusion in the mind of the listener who is addicted to external objects of sense, by the hearing of an extremely subtle object, in the shape of the Supreme Self, which is highly incomprehensible. Just as, on the second day of the month one who wishes to show the thin crescent of the moon to some one, begins with pointing to the branch of the tree in front of the moon: 'just look, here, there is the moon, then he points to another higher object, such as the top of the hill, and going on in this manner, he points out the moon; and then the other person sees the moon. In the same manner, it was not the Supreme Self, that was meant by *Prajāpati* to be expressed by the three expressions, 'the person in the eye, &c.;' in the fourth expression, the listener is carried beyond the mortal body, to incorporeality, the form of pure light; in which one becomes the best of men, playing and enjoying the company of women, &c. Well, certainly this explanation is very pleasing to the ear; but such cannot be the meaning of the Text. 'Why?' Because if such were the meaning, then,—after having begun with the 'person that is seen in the eye,' whereby the disciples comprehended the Self to be the shadow, *Prajāpati* thought this to be a miscomprehension on their part, and then with a view to remove this, he brought forward the sample of the 'cup of water' and questioned

them as to what they saw there; &c., &c.; and then lastly explained to them the instance of the 'adornment,' &c.—all this would become meaningless, if *Prajāpati* had wished only to explain the nature of the Self as being that of the shadow—'the person seen in the eye.' And further, when he himself would have declared a fact, a reason would have to be given, as to why he wished to set aside that declaration; and it would be necessary for himself to bring forward reasons for the removal of the conceptions of the Self, as the Self in dream and in deep sleep. But no such reasons are given; thence, we conclude that *Prajāpati* did not mean to teach them the form of the Self to be the shadow in the eye. *Secondly*, if the declaration were in the form that 'it is the seer that is seen in the eye,' then the said interpretation would have been right, because having mentioned 'this itself,' what *Prajāpati* declares is the seer. If it be urged that 'it is not the seer that has been mentioned in connection with the dream,'—we deny this; because the sentences that follow are qualified by 'as it were;' it 'sheds tears as it were,' and 'is conscious of pain, as it were;' and it can be none other than the seer that moves about, in a dream, attended upon; because, this fact is established by reasoning, in another *Sruti* passage: 'Therein, is the *Purusha* self-luminous.' Though during a dream, the person is conscious, yet that consciousness does not serve as an organ for the perception of the dream experiences: this consciousness being itself only perceptible, as the substratum of the impressions left by the waking state, just like a coloured piece of cloth; and this does not go against the self-luminosity of the seer. *Thirdly*, both during the waking and the dreaming states, one knows the living beings and himself—as 'these are living beings' and 'this is I;' and it is only when there is the chance of a thing, that there can be any denial of it,—such as 'it knows not, &c.' Similarly, it is only for a conscious being, who has a body, that there is no freedom from pleasure and pain due to Ignorance; having said this, it is added that for the same conscious Being, when without a body, just as knowledge appears; the contrast of pleasure and pain is denied,—the denial being only of such pleasure and pain as there was a chance of—by the sentence 'the incorporeal Being, Pleasure and Pain do not touch.' And it is proved in another *Sruti* that 'one and the same Self moves along untouched, in both the waking and the dreaming states, just like a large fish.' It has been said that 'the Serene Being, rising from the body, enters into something else, rejoicing with women, &c.,—and this something else, is apart from the Serene Being spoken of as its substratum, and this is the best *Purusha*.' But this is not true; because, even in the fourth explanation, it is explained as 'This it is.' If something else were meant, then *Prajāpati* could never have expressed it as before, and thus told a lie: and further the charge of falsehood would also apply to the declaration, 'That thou art,' which has been addressed to one who has entered into the body, which is a modification of his Self, after such entrance has been explained

as belonging to Pure Being, the Creator, who is something other than Fire, Water and Food. For the proper form of declaration would have been—'In that, wilt thou be rejoicing with women, &c.,—if the best *Puruṣa* were something other than the serene and blissful Being. And again if the 'Highest' were something other than the human Self, then the instructions could never have concluded with 'all this is the Self alone,' after having taught that 'It is I that am in the Highest.' And also we have another *Sruti* passage declaring—'There is no seer other than this, &c., &c.' Nor could the word 'Self' be used in all *Srutis*, with regard to the Supreme Being, if the counter-Self (ego) of all creatures were not the Supreme Being itself. Therefore it is established that the Self, treated of here, is one only. Nor does worldliness belong to the Self; because, the world is simply imposed upon the Self by Ignorance. Just as the misconceptions of serpent, silver and dirtiness with regard to the rope, the mother-o'-pearl and the sky, cannot be said to belong to these latter. By this has been explained the sentence that 'for the bodied being, there is no freedom from pleasure and pain.' And it has also been established as mentioned above, that it becomes 'conscious of pain, as if were' and not that it *really* becomes conscious of pain. It is only because such is the explanation, that in the case of all the four explanations, *Prajāpati* adds: this is the Self, the Immortal, &c.;' even if '*Prajāpati*' be taken as a hidden name of the *Sruti*, then too the declaration could not but be true; and it is not proper to assert this to be false, on the ground of some false reasonings; because there is no authority higher than the *Sruti*. If it be urged that 'it is an unmistakeable fact of perception that the Self is really conscious of pain, &c.,—we deny this; because such consciousness of pain too may be explained as other sense-cognitions, such as 'I am free from old age, I am old I am born, I am long-lived, I am fair, dark, dead and so forth.' If it be said that 'all these are true,'—(we reply) the truth is really very hard to comprehend; so much so that even the king of the gods, though instructed, by means of the instance of the cup of water, as to the imperishable character of the Self, yet became confused, and said 'It is really annihilated.' And the greatly intelligent *Virochana* too, the very son of *Prajāpati* himself, understood the body itself to be the Self. And it is in this occasion of *Indra's* fear with regard to the perishability of the Self, that the atheists have been drowned. So too, the *Sāṅkhyas*, even after they have comprehended the seer to be something apart from the body, leave hold of the authority of the scriptures, and so stay behind in the regions of Death as characterised by other theories. So, too, the other philosophers, *Kaṇāda* and others, have busied themselves with purifying the substance of the Self as endowed with nine different properties of the Self,—just like the washing of the *reddened* cloth by means of different salts. So also the sacrificists—*mīmāṃsakas*—having their minds withdrawn from the worldly objects, though resting upon the authority of the *Veda*, look upon

the Supreme Reality of the unity of Self as *annihilation*, like *Indra*, and so keep moving up and down, by means of a pulley as were. What then is to be said of other insignificant creature, devoid of wisdom, who, by their very nature, have their minds conquered by the external objects of the world? Therefore the Supreme Reality of the unity of Self can be rightly comprehended only by those *Paramahansa*—Renunciates who have renounced all desire for the external world, who have nothing else to fall back upon, who have accepted the highest state of life who are engaged only with the conception of the Vedanta,—the highly revered ones, following, as they do, the doctrine laid down by *Prajāpati* in the four aforesaid sections, and hence to-day too, it is only such revered ones, and none others, that teach this doctrine.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- Speeches of the Day of the Fifteenth Indian National Congress.* Madras G. A. Natesan & Co. 1900.
- Bebes in the Bush.* By Rolf Boldrewood. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1900.
- The Cambrie Mask, a Romance.* By Robert W. Chambers. London Macmillan and Co. 1900.
- From Sea to Sea.* Vols. I and II, Nos. 395 and 396. By Rudyard Kipling. London: Macmillan and Co. 1900.
- Ramayana.* The Epic of Rama, Prince of India, condensed into English verse. By Romesh Dutt, C. I. E. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 29 and 30, Bedford Street, W. C. 1900.
- Report of the Commissioner of Education* for the years 1897-98. Vol. 1, containing Part I; Vol. 2, containing Parts II and III. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1899.
- The Indian Magazine and Review*, No. 349, January 1900. London: Archibald Constable & Co. 1900.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India.* Nos. 8 and 9, for the months of November and December 1899, and for the nine months, 1st April to 31st December 1899, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1897 and 1898. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1900.
- Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries.* Nos. 7, 8, and 9, for the nine months, April to December 1899, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1897 and 1898. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1900.
- Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh*, for the year ending 31st March 1899. Allahabad: The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1900.
- Monograph on the Woollen Fabrics of Bengal.* By N. N. Banerjee, B.A., M.R.A.C., F.H.A.S., Assistant Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1899.
- Report on the Administration of the Punjab, and its Dependencies* for 1898-99. Lahore: The Punjab Government Press. 1900.
- Returns of the Rail and River-Borne Trade of Bengal* during the quarter ending the 30th September 1899. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on the Rail-Borne Traffic of Bengal* during the year 1898-99. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency* during the year 1898-99. Madras: Government Press. 1899.
- Annual Progress Report of Administration* for the Forest year ending 30th June 1899. The N.-W. Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1900.
- Report on the River-Borne Traffic of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and on the Inland Trade of Calcutta, and on the Trade of Chittagong Port* for the year 1898-99. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- A List of the Photographic Negatives of Indian Antiquities in the collection of the Indian Museum: with which is incorporated the List of similar Negatives in the possession of the India Office.* Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1900.

- General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1898-99.* Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1899.
- Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Penal Settlements of Port Blair and the Nicobars, for 1898-99.* Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1899.
- The Monist.* Vol. X, No. 2, January 1900. Edited by Dr. Paul Cassirer. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1900.
- Monograph on the Silk Industry of the Punjab, 1899.* Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1899.
- Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, for the year ending 30th June 1899.* The Bombay Government Press. 1900.
- Report on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st March 1899.* Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1899.
- The Indian Review,* Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, February and March 1900. By G. A. Natesan & Co., Printers and Publishers. Madras: 1900.
- Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1898-99.* Madras: Government Press. 1899.
- Resolution reviewing the Reports on the working of Municipalities in Bengal, during the year 1898-99.* Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.
- Report on the Police Administration in the Punjab, for the year 1898-99.* Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1899.
- Review of the Trade of India in 1898-99.* By J. E. O'Connor, C. I. E. Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India, Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, Member of the International Statistical Institute. Simla: The Government Central Branch Press. 1899.
- Annual Report on the Condition and Management of the Jails in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, with Tabular Statements, for the year ended 31st December 1898.* By Major Charles Mactaggart, M.A., M.B., C.M., I.M.S., Officiating Inspector-General of Prisons. Allahabad: The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1899.
- Report and Returns of the Lunatic Asylums in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1898.* Allahabad: The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1899.